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(A Central Asian Sufi)
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insan publications
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Kestane Sok. No: 1 Merter/ Istanbul, Turkey.
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www.insanpublications.com.tr
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ISBN 978-605-5949-03-7

Printed in Istanbul by Pasifik Ofset

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Introduction

Bahauddin Naqshband, who lived in Bukhara, one of the most important centers of 14th century Central Asia, revivified the Khwajagan school established in the 12th century by Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani. The principles that the lineage was established upon were the Shariah, Sunni approach of Islam and the *malami* understanding of Sufism (*malami*, ignoring the blame of others for the sake of sincerity). He established a gnostic school, which after the time of Bahauddin Naqshband was known as the Naqshbandiyya Sufi lineage. In the course of time, this lineage was able to spread throughout the Islamic world.

There is a great need to publish information that is based on well-researched, reliable sources about the important founders of Sufi schools. While this work was being prepared, special attention was given in referring to such works in order to attain the most accurate information.

This work is not just for those who are curious about the life and thoughts of Bahauddin Naqshband;

at the same time, it provides some information about Central Asia during the time of the Chagatay, the Timur and the Timurids. Moreover, this is an important work for those who are interested in sociological and psychological dimension of religious life. In short, this is a book for all those who want reliable information about the founder of the Naqshbandi movement and his thoughts.

This work is like a modest boat that will take you to the source of the Naqshbandi river -- a river that has now spread all over the world. Have a nice trip.

HIS LIFE AND FAMILY

A. Birth, Youth and Discipleship

Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband was born under the name of Muhammad b. Muhammad Bukhari. Some sources state that his grandfather's name was Muhammad as well. Although in the authenticated sources of the early periods there is no information concerning the genealogy of Khwaja Bahauddin, the claim that he was a descendant of Prophet Muhammad is mentioned in later sources. There have also been those who have claimed that his mother's side of the family was related to Abu Bakr as-Siddiq.

The final part of his name, Bukhari, was due to the fact that Khwaja Bahauddin came from Bukhara, while the soubriquet "Naqshband," under which he became famous, was given to him because when young he was involved in embroidery work with his father. At that time, the people who were employed to embroider, who made embroidered garments or who wove carpets with designs were all known as "Naqshband," that is, embroiders.

In the authenticated sources it is recorded that Khwaja Bahauddin embroidered with his father in

his youth. Even though he was later to abandon this profession, he was best known under the title of Naqshband. An author of the later period, Muinuddin Naqshbandi (d. 1085/1674) reported the following concerning the legendary nature of this sobriquet: "Khwaja Bahauddin's father was a merchant who was involved in various activities and he had children who worked as servants alongside him. One of these children wove carpets. At that time, Khwaja Bahauddin, who was ten years old, went to the house where the child who wove carpets was to be found. The servant was busy doing something else, so Khwaja Bahauddin sat down in his place and moved the shuttle on the loom back and forth. He continued to work with the shuttle, and in one hour had completed a month's work and had produced a beautiful design. The servant saw this and told Khwaja Bahauddin's father. The father complemented the son, saying: Khwaja Bahauddin! You are a Naqshband!"

In later periods, it was claimed in some works that Khwaja Bahauddin was given this soubriquet due to the fact that he had embroidered the word "Allah" on his heart with his continuous *zikr-i khafi* (the remembrance of Allah made in silence, or in a low voice) or that he had lived in the Naqshband village in Bukhara; however, these are totally unfounded. The dervish lineage that Khwaja Bahauddin established

was called Naqshbandiyya. But this name was most likely given to the lineage a century after his death, as the first person to use this word was Abdurrahman Jami (d. 898/1492). Sometimes this lineage, which took on the name of Khwaja Bahauddin, was also known as Bahaiyya. He is sometimes referred to as Shah Naqshband, Khwaja Buzurg (the Great Sheikh) and Khwaja Balagardan (the Sheikh Who Repels Calamities).

There is no recorded information concerning the ethnic background of Khwaja Bahauddin. According to authenticated sources, he was able to speak Persian and Turkish well. This is not surprising for someone who lived among the Turks and Tajiks in Central Asia.

Khwaja Bahauddin was born seven kilometers (away) to the north of Bukhara in the village of Qasr-i Hinduvan. This village later changed its name to Qasr-i Arifan; it is found today in the Kagan region of Bukhara, and is called the "Bahahuddin village" in his honor. It is generally accepted that Khwaja Bahauddin was born in the month of Muharrem, 718 AH. (March 1318). The narration that he was seventy-three years old when he died in 791 AH. is in keeping with this date. (Here seventy-three years is calculated according to the Hijri calendar, that is, by lunar months. If calculated by the Gregorian calendar, he would be seventy-one years old.)

According to popular knowledge, Baba Sammasi, the sheikh of the Khwajagan lineage, was passing by the Qasr-i Hinduvan village with some of his disciples before the birth of Khwaja Bahauddin and said, "I detect the scent of a great man from this earth; soon Qasr-i Hinduvan will become Qasr-i Arifan (the Palace of the Gnostics)." When Bahauddin was still only three days old, upon hearing that Baba Sammasi had arrived in the village his grandfather tucked an offering next to the chest of the child and took him off to the presence of Sheikh Sammasi. When Sammasi saw the baby he said, "He is our son. I accept him," and said to his disciple Amir Kulal, "I told you a few times before that I detected the scent of a brave young man here. When I was coming here this scent became stronger, and I said that this must mean that he has been born. That brave young man is this child. I believe that he will be the spiritual guide of this century." Then he handed the child over to Amir Kulal entrusting him with the child's Sufi training.

According to a report handed down from Khwaja Bahauddin's mother, when he was only four years old he said to his mother, "This cow will give birth to a calf with a crescent shaped mark on its forehead." A few months later a calf was born just as he had described.

When Khwaja Bahauddin turned eighteen, his grandfather wanted him to marry. Presumably, his

grandfather wanted Baba Sammasi to be present at the engagement ceremony, and he sent Bahauddin from Qasr-i Arifan to the "Sammasi village" in Bukhara to convey an invitation to Baba Sammasi. After spending one night there, Bahauddin returned to Qasr-i Arifan with Baba Sammasi. When his grandfather spoke of the matter of marriage to Baba Sammasi, he said, "It is blessed, it should be completed immediately." Upon hearing this, his grandfather wanted to carry out the wedding straight away, but Bahauddin's father wanted to follow tradition and have a bit more extravagant wedding, so he desired that the matter be postponed a little. Despite Sammasi's saying, "Time is valuable; there is no need to postpone or to go to any trouble," Bahauddin's father did not pay heed and put the wedding off for a time. However, the family's economic situation began to deteriorate after a while, and it soon became impossible to hold an expensive wedding. Shortly after the occurrence of these events, Baba Sammasi died. Bahauddin's grandfather took the young man to Samarqand to enable him to benefit from the able Sufi masters' *subhat* (religious gatherings). Then he took him to Bukhara and the wedding was held.

After the wedding, the representative of Baba Sammasi, Amir Kulal, approached him and said: "In memory of Baba Sammasi, who said: 'protect the spiritual training and tenderness of my son Bahauddin, or

I will not forgive you (I won't see your debts to me as being *halal*).' If I cause harm to my master's will I cannot be a man," and thus implied that he wished for Bahauddin to be his disciple. But it seems that this wish was not realized at this time.

It is said that in his youth, during the time when Khwaja Bahauddin was doing embroidery with his father, he had a dream. In his dream one of the former Yasavi sheikhs, Hakim Ata (or Sayyid Ata), entrusted Bahauddin to a Turkish sheikh (Yasavi). When Khwaja Bahauddin awoke, he preserved the image of the sheikh's face in his mind and told his grandmother about the dream. She told Bahauddin "Oh, my son! You will receive training from Turkish sheikhs!" One day while Bahauddin was in the Bukhara market he saw the person who had appeared in his dream. His name was Khalil (Dervish Khalil, Khalil Ata). But they did not have an opportunity to talk there. Bahauddin followed him to his door and then returned home. In the evening a messenger came and said, "Dervish Khalil wishes to see you." Bahauddin, who was very pleased upon hearing this, took some gifts with him and went to Dervish Khalil's house and joined in the *subhat*. He wanted to describe the dream he had had, but Dervish Khalil said, "We are aware of what is in your heart; you do not need to explain it to us." After this Khwaja Bahauddin felt even closer to him and his affection for

Dervish Khalil grew. From then on, he began to attend the subhats regularly.

Some time later Dervish Khalil was given the sultanate of the Transoxiana (Mavaraunnahr, today known as Uzbekistan) and soon became known as Sultan Khalil. Khwaja Bahauddin did not leave Dervish Khalil's side during his reign and served him faithfully. In some records it is stated that Khwaja Bahauddin worked for Sultan Khalil throughout his sultanate, that is, for a period of six years. Other sources report that he was by Sultan Khalil's side for twelve years. There are works that state that he worked for six years before the sultanate and six years while Sultan Khalil was on the throne. After some time, a rival of Sultan Khalil appeared and defeated him in a battle, putting an end to the sultanate. These events caused Khwaja Bahauddin's heart to distance itself from worldly affairs and he returned to the Rivertun village in Bukhara and lived there as a hermit.

According to another tradition, Khwaja Bahauddin acted as executioner for Sultan Khalil. One day a criminal was brought in front of Ghazan Sultan (Sultan Khalil), who ordered the criminal to be executed. Khwaja Bahauddin, despite bringing the sword down on the prisoner's neck three times, was unable to chop off his head. Noticing that the man had been whispering something each time the sword came down, Bahaud-

din asked him what he was reciting. He answered, "I am whispering the name of my sheikh (master) and asking for his intervention." Khwaja Bahauddin asked him who his sheikh was and he said, "My sheikh is Sayyid Amir Kulal." Khwaja Bahauddin was acquainted with Amir Kulal. Having witnessed this miracle, the trust and affection that Bahauddin felt for Amir Kulal increased a great deal. He threw the sword from his hand and went to join the *subhat* of Amir Kulal and to be in his service.

If we accept that Bahauddin Naqshband was with the Sufi sultan for a total of twelve years (whether his sultanate lasted for six years or for twelve years), then we can surmise that from 735-747 AH. (1335-1346-47), that is, from the age of seventeen until the age of twenty nine, he was in his service. In Naqshband's own words, he was married at "approximately eighteen years of age" and soon after his wedding he became acquainted with Dervish Khalil and started to join his *subhats*. It can be assumed that it was for this reason that the implied invitation made to Naqshband by Amir Kulal to join him was not accepted.

After the sultanate of Ghazan Khan Khalil collapsed, Khwaja Bahauddin returned to the Rivertun village of Bukhara to live a hermetic and spiritual life. It is reported that at this period of his life he went to the *tekke* (dervish lodge) of Amir Kulal to join in the

subhat (religious gathering), but was not allowed in. He waited on the threshold of the lodge until morning and was covered by snow. Kulal, when he left for morning prayer, saw him and accepted him into the lodge with full consent. The reason why Khwaja Bahauddin encountered such a reaction must have been that he had returned to Amir Kulal after spending so many years alongside Ghazan Khan Khalil.

At this time he was frequently visiting graves in Bukhara which were considered to be blessed. One night, while paying a visit, he noticed that the wicks of the oil lamps had not been trimmed, and even though they contained plenty of oil, the lighting was quite dim. When he was at the Mazdakhin Cemetery, facing the direction of Mecca, Khwaja Bahauddin fell into a trance-like state, and envisioned a person sitting on a large throne with a veil covering his face and there were some people around the throne. When he noticed Muhammad Baba Sammasi among the crowd, he realized that they were sheikhs who had passed away. One of them came up to Naqshband and told him that the person sitting on the throne was Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani, and that those sitting around him were his representatives, mentioning their names one by one. When it came to Baba Sammasi's turn, his companion said: "You saw him when he was alive. He's your sheikh and he gave you a *kulah* (coni-

cal hat)." Naqshband recognized him, but said that as so much time had passed, he had forgotten the *kulah* incident. His companion said: "The *kulah* is in your house. In addition, a miracle was given to you that for your sake the calamities will be diverted from society." Then the crowd said "Heed him! Khwaja Abdulkhaliq will tell you things that will be unavoidable for you on your Sufi journey." Khwaja Abdulkhaliq lifted the veil from his face and gave him information concerning the start, middle and end of Sufi training. Because he had received blessings and spiritual knowledge from Ghujduvani, Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband would be accepted as an *Uwaysi* (*Uwaysi* is the spiritual method in which a disciple receives training from deceased sheikhs through dreams) representative; he accepted Ghujduvani as his true guide.

Some of the words that Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani uttered in this dream are as follows: "The lights that you saw were a sign for you. You have the ability to succeed on this road, but in order to light the wick of your ability you must have light and bring the secrets out into the open. Always adhere to what is permitted and to what is forbidden in your religion, act with *azimat* (following the laws), resolution, and according to the Sunnah; you must avoid the *rukhsat* (permission) and the *bid'at* (innovations and actions that are not part of the Shariah or Sunnah). Be guided by the words

of the Prophet; it is necessary to learn the hadiths and the words of the Companions."

After Ghujduvani had given his advice, the caliphs of Ghujduvani told Khwaja Bahauddin to take the *kulah* that belonged to Ali Ramitani from his house and to bring it to Amir Kulal who was in Nasaf (near Bukhara). Moreover, they informed him of some events that he would witness on the way, which would be signs confirming that which he had envisaged. Then they shook him and Khwaja Bahauddin awoke.

Upon returning to his home in the Rivartun village the next morning, Naqshband asked his relatives about the *kulah*. "That *kulah* has been standing over there for ages," they said and told him where to find it. Khwaja Bahauddin took the *kulah* and set off. As had been foretold in his dream, some events happened on the way and in the end he arrived in Nasaf to visit Amir Kulal. He placed the *kulah* in front of Amir Kulal; Kulal after remaining silent for a long time said, "Is this the *kulah* of Azizan (meaning Ali Ramitani)?" Naqshband replied in the affirmative, to which Kulal said, "It has been indicated that you should preserve this *kulah* between two pieces of cloth." Naqshband agreed to do this. Then Amir Kulal taught Naqshband how to perform *zikr* (chant) and desired for him to continue silently chanting the *kalima-yi tawhid* (proclamation of faith). In this way Naqshband, who had stated his

affiliation with Amir Kulal as he had been ordered to by Ghujduvani in his dream, demonstrated that *zikr* should not be made *jahri* (loudly).

There were gatherings held in the lodge of Amir Kulal on some evenings in which chanting out loud was permitted. Khwaja Bahauddin, who took part in the *subhats*, would leave the Sufi lodge when the audible chanting began and would not participate in this activity. Some of the novices became uncomfortable when this happened and it became a topic of gossip. At first, Amir Kulal tolerated this and it can be gathered that he protected Khwaja Bahauddin from the gossip. Khwaja Bahauddin, who sometimes worked in the service of the lodge while he was a novice, studied *hadiths* (events and sayings from Prophet Muhammad's life) from one of the caliphs of Amir Kulal, Bahauddin Diggarani (Qishlaqi), and from Shamsuddin Kulal he learned the Iraqi sheikhs' form of introspection (contemplation, *muraqaba*).

In the early years of Naqshband's affiliation, Amir Kulal resided in the Khwaja Mubarak village of Nasaf, but later returned to the area where he had come from, the village of Sukhari in Bukhara, where he continued his instruction. Khwaja Bahauddin continued to join in the *subhats* and remained in service to Amir Kulal for a few more years, however the details of his Sufi education are unknown. It is known that, after having

reached a certain maturity, Amir Kulal handed the education of his son, Amir Burhan, over to Naqshband, wanting to see for himself if Naqshband was qualified to provide such an education. Amir Kulal realized that Naqshband had reached a high degree and that he had the ability to go even further. One day he said to him, "My son Bahauddin! I have completed the advice of Khwaja Muhammad Baba Sammasi." Then pointing to his breast he went on: "My nipples have dried up for you and the bird of your soul has emerged from the egg of humanity. But your bird of effort flies high. Today I give you permission; Turk or Tajik, from whomever the spiritual scent reaches you, take them as your spiritual teachers and do not fail in your duties to them."

After these words from his sheikh, Bahauddin Naqshband joined in the *subhats* of one of Amir Kulal's caliphs, Maulana Arif Diggarani. But the true nature of this relationship was not one of guide/student, but rather that of two companions. After leaving Arif Diggarani, he joined one of the Yasavi sheikhs, Qusam Sheikh, for two or three months. After this, Naqshband's discipleship came to an end, and it can be gathered that he began to instruct others. However, the date of when he began to instruct is not certain.

Naqshband says that throughout the period of his education, he had been dependent on one sheikh for seven years and at his suggestion had served animals

and cleaned roads. It is possible that this sheikh, who is not named, was Maulana Arif Diggarani. If the sheikh upon whom he was dependent for seven years, but does not name, was Amir Kulal, then this means that after the collapse of Dervish Khalil's sultanate he spent seven years with Amir Kulal, seven years with Diggarani and two to three months with Qusam Sheikh, bringing us up to the date AH. 761 (1359-60), making Naqshband forty-two or forty-three years of age. However, as it is not known for certain how much Naqshband participated in the *subhats*, these dates can only remain a supposition.

One of the events that occurred during his time as a novice was the meeting of Bahauddin Naqshband with Amirzada Abdullah. Amir Qazagan, who had put an end to the sultanate of Ghazan Khan Khalil, in which Naqshband had served for many years, was killed while out hunting; his son Amirzada Abdullah then reigned in Mavaraunnahr (Transoxiana) for a year. According to legend, Amirzada Abdullah came to Bukhara with his soldiers and demanded that all of the people of Bukhara turn out for a hunt. Khwaja Bahauddin left, following the people and went to a hilltop near the area of the hunt. Amirzada Abdullah went up to him and paid his respects. After a short conversation Khwaja Bahauddin left without expressing any of the standard compliments to the Amirzada. The fact that he did not

pay any compliments to him was not only a result of his disinterest in the politics of the time, but must also have been influenced by the fact that the Amirzada's father had been responsible for Ghazan Khan Khalil being removed from the throne. The exact date when Amirzada Abdullah came to Bukhara is unknown.

Salah b. Mubarak, one of the biographers and a disciple of Naqshband, records that Amirzada Abdullah went to Bukhara while he was ruling over the Transoxiana, and Muhammad Baqir (another biographer) reports that when he went to Khwarizm he stopped at Bukhara, which was when the hunt took place. As it is known that Amirzada Abdullah went from Samarqand to Khwarizm, accompanied by soldiers around the time of 753 (1352), while his father was still alive and ruling, then these events must have happened in 753.

B. Period as a Sheikh

The first disciples of Khwaja Bahauddin, when he began to guide people, were dervishes who had broken off from the *subhat* circle of Amir Kulal. Even Amir Kulal's son, Amir Burhan, joined in the Naqshband's *subhat*. When Naqshband heard that Amir Kulal was saddened by this situation, he sent the son back to his father's *subhats*. In the sources, it is reported that Amir Kulal forbade the disciples from joining Naqshband's *subhats*, when Khwaja Bahauddin went to Amir Kulal

with a group of scholars and warned him about making *zikr-i jahri* (loud chanting).

The actual reason for a period of coldness between Naqshband and his sheikh was not a matter of *jahri-khafi zikr* (loud-silent chanting), as reported by Ahmad Kasani, but supposedly that the disciples were being shared between the two *subhat* circles. It can be understood that the adoption by Amir Kulal of a more tolerant attitude toward the disciples going to the *subhats* led to the disappearance of this conflict.

Khwaja Bahauddin resided in the village of Qasr-i Arifan near Bukhara at this time. In addition to the *subhats* he held in Bukhara, he also went to regions like Nasaf (Qarshi), Gadivat, Kish (today known as Shahr-i Sabz), Khwarizm and Karmina, which were located in Transoxiana, and held *subhats* there, finding many disciples in these areas. His fame spread, causing people to come from even larger cities like Samarqand to listen to his *subhat*s or to become affiliated with him.

An important turning point was the affiliation of one of the leading scholars of Bukhara, Husamuddin Khwaja Yusuf al-Bukhari. After he had joined up with Naqshband, there was intense interest from the scholars and students of Bukhara to join in Naqshband's *subhat* circles. Some scholars, becoming concerned that the *madrasa*s (religious schools) would become

empty, started to spread some rumors about Naqshband. In response to these accusations Khwaja Bahauddin replied, "Let me tell you about our lineage. If there is some matter that contravenes the Shariah or the Sunnah, then tell me about it and I will give it up." The scholars could find nothing to say on this matter, saying: "Your lineage is without deviation, we have no objection." Some said, "You have become famous because of the coned hat that you wear," to which Bahauddin replied, "Well if the problem is the coned hat, then it would be better not to wear it," and he removed his hat, giving it to another person. After these events the respect felt for Naqshband by the *ulama* (scholars) increased even more.

It is known that during his period as a sheikh, Khwaja Bahauddin sent Amir Hüseyin, one of his disciples, to Tirmiz to invite Khwaja Bahauddin's father to Bukhara; his father was a member of Amir Bayan's army. Despite the detailed description of the departure of Amir Hüseyin for the army of Amir Bayan and the events that happened there, there is no date recorded for when these events occurred.

One of the most important events of Bahauddin Naqshband's sheikhdom was his pilgrimage. It is recorded in the authenticated records that he went on a pilgrimage twice. According to the fact that Sheikh Amir Kulal passed away when he had returned from

his first pilgrimage, we can date this pilgrimage as taking place in 771 (1370), in the month of Dhu al-hijja. Upon his first pilgrimage, which he undertook with some disciples, he stopped in some cities like Merv, Serakhs and Mayhana. Khwaja Bahauddin was the guest of Khwaja Muayyad, a descendent of Abu Said Abu'l-Khayr, in Mayhana. He came to the Hijaz (Hijaz: Mecca and Madina) and performed his pilgrimage. While he was in the Hijaz, his young son died. As Naqshband returned from pilgrimage, he went through Baghdad and came to Mazandaran. He met with Sayfuddin Abhari from the *ulama* there and then continued toward Merv. It was most likely at this time, while Bahauddin was in either Tus or Sarakhs, that Malik Husayn Kart sent a messenger from Herat to issue an invitation to Khwaja Bahauddin. Malik Husayn arranged a feast for Naqshband, inviting some scholars and sheikhs to join, but Naqshband, worried that the food at the Sultan's table was haram or gained in doubtful ways, did not eat anything, nor did he accept the presents that were later sent. Naqshband stayed in Merv for a while on his return journey.

At this time a messenger came from Bukhara and told him that Sheikh Maulana Arif Diggarani himself was calling for him. Khwaja Bahauddin went to the Diggaran village to be with Maulana Arif. The sheikh, who was at death's door, said that he was handing the duty

of guidance to Muhammad Parsa and then he died. After his death, Naqshband returned to Merv again. Naqshband, after staying for some time in Merv, returned to Bukhara; when on the day of his return Amir Kulal (d. 772/1370) died. According to some sources, it is reported that Kulal stated before his death that the disciples were to be affiliated with Naqshband. Naqshband, who made it in time for the funeral of Amir Kulal, later went to his own village of Qasr Arifan. At this time Bahauddin Naqshband was fifty-two years of age (fifty-four according to the Hijri calendar). His father was still alive and living in Bukhara.

Those works that give a history of Naqshband mention a people's revolt, which was joined by some disciples of Naqshband, but which was unsuccessful. Against which administrator and at what date this protest occurred is not recorded; but as a result of these events, one of the leading disciples of Naqshband and the uncle of Muhammad Parsa, Husamuddin Khwaja Yusuf Hafizi Bukhari, was killed. If we look at what is described in the biography, as the people had little power and much blood was spilt, Naqshband did not support the revolt, but rather his heart was with them (Salah b. Mubarak Bukhari, *Anisu't-talibin*, p. 229-231).

One of the events that happened during the time of Khwaja Bahauddin's sheikhood is the siege of

Bukhara by an army from Dasht-i Qipchaq and the difficult days that the people lived through after that. There are no dates or names given in the histories of Khwaja Bahauddin, but the event described must be when Toqtamish Khan, who headed up the Golden Horde, entered Transoxiana in 789 (1387-88) and besieged Bukhara. He was unable to take this city, which defended itself with its own power. As many people and animals were lost in these events, they remained etched in the public mind as a time of hardship. At this time Bahauddin Naqshband was sixty-nine years old (seventy-one according to the Hijra calendar). Amir Timur defeated the other local rulers and established his authority in Transoxiana and in Khorasan.

Another important event in the life of Khwaja Bahauddin was his second pilgrimage. Khwaja Muhammad Parsa, one of the caliphs, accompanied him on this journey. When they arrived in Merv, Naqshband, who had sent Parsa with the other disciples along the Bavard (Abivard) road to Nishabur, went to Herat and met with Zaynuddin Abu Bakr Tayabadi (d. 791/1388-89), conversing with him for three days. Then he went on to Nishabur and joined the other disciples. When they arrived in Baghdad, they hired some camels for the journey to the Hijaz. After completing their pilgrimage, they passed through Baghdad again, and

participated in the congregation of Sheikh Nuruddin Abdurrahman made up of scholars and Sufis. He must also have visited Abdulqadir Gilani's tomb when he was in Baghdad.

There is some information found about this visit in some later hagiographies of the Qadiriyya Sufi lineage. However, there is no information to be found in any of the works that include the history of Naqshband. According to statements found in the histories of the Qadiriyya, Abdulqadir Gilani stated that someone called Bahauddin Naqshband would appear in Bukhara many years after his death; in his formative years (*sayr u suluk*) he saw him in a dream, in which Gilani, pointing at Naqshband's chest, embellished him with God's name. This story, which cannot be found in the records of Naqshbandi histories, must have been developed by earlier Qadiris in an attempt to show the sup-eriority of Gilani over the other holy men.

Naqshband, having come from Baghdad to Merv, spent some time here before returning to Bukhara, where he spent the remainder of his life. As it is said that Naqshband became ill on this second pilgrimage and, thinking that his death was approaching, appointed Muhammad Parsa as his caliph (successor), this journey must have taken place in his later years and close to the time of his death (790/1388).

C. The Death of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband and His Tomb

According to reports, when Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband went to Sheikh Nuruddin Khalwati's house upon the latter's death, and saw people there, in particular women, wailing and crying out loud, he said, "We will teach the dervishes how to handle death when our last moment comes." For this reason, people waited with anticipation to see what he would do at his death. As the end of his life approached, he started speaking about death very often; as Naqshband's illness progressed, he went to stay in a caravanserai. Throughout his final illness he stayed in a small room in the caravanserai. Only a few chosen disciples were with him. This caravanserai was probably chosen over his own village because it was located in a secluded area. He turned and conversed with the disciples who were near his bed, one by one. Finally, he told Alauddin Ghujduvani, "Ala! Bring the (table) cloth, and eat." He repeated these words a few times.

Some of the disciples who were close by wondered who he was authorizing to guide in his place after his death. Naqshband, aware of the situation, stated that such thoughts bothered him and that it was not in his hands to decide who would guide. According to another report, he said, "I said what I have to say on this matter on the way to the Hijaz. Let whoever wishes us,

consider Khwaja Muhammad Parsa." He prayed for a long time on his bed. Alauddin Attar read Surah Yasin from the Qur'an while sitting by his bed. When he had read half of the chapter, Khwaja Bahauddin closed his eyes on this world, leaving behind a life which he had spent teaching people about God and the truth. The date was 3 Rabi'u'l-avval 791 (1 March 1389), a Monday night. According to the Muslim calendar, Khwaja Bahauddin was seventy-three years old, just about to turn seventy-four. According to the Gregorian calendar, he was seventy-one years old.

Khwaja Bahauddin had indicated a place in the garden of Qasr-i Arifan to some of the disciples and said, "Make my grave here." The disciples carried out his wishes and he was buried in this garden. Another of his last wishes was that while he was being carried to the grave, a Persian couplet should be read: "*We are the bankrupt who came to your village, We wish mercy from your beauty.*" The tomb, which at first was humble, later had many annexes, including a prayer room (*masjid*), a school (*madrasa*), a lodge (*tekke, ribat*), and a guest house added on to it, making it into a large complex.

The complex consists of three main sections (reached through gardens) which have doors leading from one to the other. The first door leads into the section where the Appak Ayim Prayer Room (*Masjid*) is

located and is known as the Taqi Miyana Door. The second door is the Dilavar Door, while the third opens onto the courtyard where the tomb of Bahauddin Naqshband is found, and is known as the Bab-i Salam. It is thought that these doors (*darvaza*) were made in the 16th century. There is a graveyard, known as the Dahma-yi Shahan, where the graves of some historical figures like Abdulaziz Khan (1540-1549), Abdullah Khan (1583-1598), Imam Quli Khan (1611-1642), Subhan Quli Khan (1682-1702) and Nadir (Nazr) Divan Begi (17th century) are found. Also, there are additional buildings like the small *madrasa* which served as a guesthouse, the Hakim Kushbegi Masjid, the *masjid* built by Abu'l-Fayz Khan's mother and the Masjid-i Jami' (big mosque) with its dome-shaped roof. However, all of these are not in use today. The Masjid-i Jami', known as the Khanaqah (lodge), is the most impressive building and was built by the caliph of Ubaydullah Khan of the Shaybanids, Abdulaziz Khan (1540-1549) in 951 (1544), while cells were added to this lodge during the time of Nadir Khan (1642-1645).

On one side of the courtyard where Bahauddin Naqshband's tomb is found there is a *masjid* with a fountain in the center. The large rectangular structure in the other corner is Naqshband's tomb. It is possible that this tomb, in the form of a large covered box, the inside of which cannot be seen, also acts as a tomb

for others as well. According to sources, the names of some people who were buried next to the tomb are recorded. However, whether they are inside the tomb or in other sections of the compound is not clear. Some of these people are as follows: Khwaja Bahauddin Hasan Nisari, Payravi Bukharayi, Shamsuddin Muhammad Quhistani, Ghiyathuddin Bahrabadi, Qadi Mahmud and Sultan Khwaja b. Abdulwahhab.

The tomb was made more impressive by the Amir of Bukhara who is mentioned above, Abdulaziz Khan, in 951 (1544), being covered with marble in a rectangular shape, which gave it a block-like appearance, and railings were erected to surround it. It is known that Abdulaziz Khan was a disciple of Sheikh Jalal Vaiz, the caliph of one of the Naqshbandi sheikhs, Shamsuddin Muhammad Ruji. Like the rest of the saints in the region of Bukhara, there is no ancient headstone for the tomb of Naqshband. The headstone with Arabic inscriptions that has been erected next to the tomb in recent years has no historical or academic significance.

The tomb, frequently visited by the people of Bukhara, throughout history has been visited by many travelers from distant lands. Seydi Ali Rais in AH 963 (1556); Arminius Vambery (d. 1913), who visited during his Central Asian tour of 1862-1865; Eugene Schuyler in 1873; Muhammad Ma'sum Shirazi, known as Ma'sum Ali Shah in 1898 (AH. 1315); and the Danish oriental-

ist O. Olufsen during his tour from 1896-99 all visited the tomb. At the time that Vambery visited the tomb there was a wishing stone that had been worn down due to visitors rubbing their temples against it, along with a few ram horns, flags and a broom from the Ka'ba in Mecca. Eugene Schuyler and O. Olufsen, who came after Vambery, saw much of the same objects. At the beginning of the twentieth century these things were still present, but they no longer exist today.

According to the record of Muhammad Ma'sum Shirazi, every week on Tuesday night there would be a *zikr* congregation, with a Khatm-i Khwajagan ceremony, known as Khatm-i Bahauddin, being held after afternoon prayer on Thursdays and Sundays. Although it is not known today which of these ceremonies from a hundred years ago are being carried out today, it has been recorded that there is a ceremony in the spring in memory of Bahauddin Naqshband known as the *Id-i gul-i suṛkh* (red rose festival). It is not known when the *Id-i gul-i ṣurkh* ceremony started exactly; in the work written by Muhammad Salim Bukharayi, *Kashkul-i Salimi,* in 1158 AH. (1745) this ceremony is mentioned, so therefore this tradition must have started before this date (see: *Barg-i Bibargi,* ed. N. M. Heravi, Tehran 1378/1999, p. 561).

The late Turkish President, Mr. Turgut Özal, visited the grave of Bahauddin Naqshband in April, 1993,

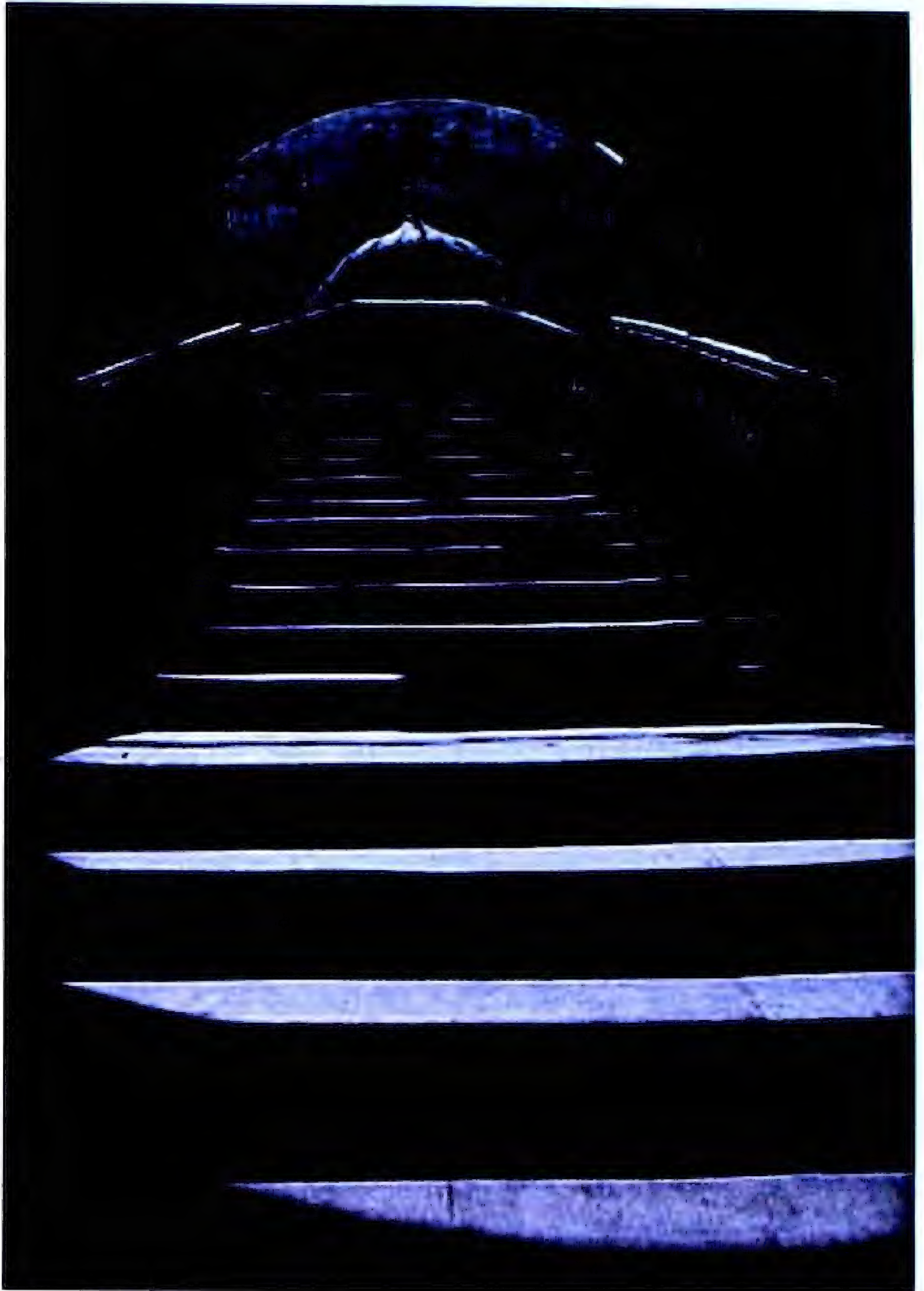
and donated a large amount of money for the restoration of the tomb and the adjacent buildings. Turgut Özal requested in his will that some of the earth taken from Naqshband's tomb be added to his grave, and this was done after his death in 1993.

In September 17-18, 1993, the Uzbek government organized public ceremonies at the tomb of Naqshband to mark the 675th anniversary of his birth.

D. Family and Descendents

The name of Khwaja Bahauddin's father was Muhammad. His mother's name is not recorded in authentic sources, but in some new works it is recorded as Arifa; this is most likely based on oral tradition. Naqshband's father, who was occupied with weaving and embroidery during Naqshband's youth, later joined the army of Amir Bayan. However, what role he played in the army is unknown. During the sheikhood of Bahauddin Naqshband the disciple Amir Huseyin was sent to the army barracks in Tirmiz to invite Naqshband's father to Bukhara. At first his father did not accept this invitation, but after a few events occurred, he agreed to come to Bukhara. On the way he stopped in Qarshi, where his wife (Naqshband's mother) resided and stayed for a while before continuing on to Bukhara. This report tells us that Khwaja Bahauddin's mother and father were alive during his

sheikhood and that they had, at least for a while, been living apart.

It is possible that, as Naqshband was accompanied by his father when he stopped in Merv (or Mahan) in 722 (1370) on his return from his first pilgrimage, he had taken his father with him. It is known that

he visited his mother again while on his return from pilgrimage. Khwaja Bahauddin said to his father, who was ill: "Physically you are my father, but spiritually I am your father. You gave me physical education; I am giving you spiritual education." From this we can deduce that his father was one of Khwaja Bahauddin's followers in his old age. The dates of his mother and father deaths are unknown. The grave of Khwaja Bahauddin's mother is in the Qasr-i Arifan village of Bukhara, and it has become a tradition for those who are visiting Naqshband's tomb to first stop at (his mother's) her grave.

It is understood that Naqshband's grandfather spent more time raising him than his father was. His grandfather was a disciple of Muhammad Baba Sammasi, and he took Naqshband to Samarqand in his youth and introduced him to the Sufi congregations there, sparking his interest in Sufism. Moreover, it is recorded that Naqshband had a devout grandmother, but there is not much information about this.

Naqshband was married at eighteen, but there is no recorded information about his wife. Naqshband had a maternal aunt named Bibi Sashanba, whom a tradition was named after and still observed centuries later, where someone who desires that a wish be granted makes a meal to give to others in her name.

Khwaja Bahauddin had four daughters. One of them died at a young age, while Naqshband was alive; the other three were:

1. Bibicha (Bija) Khatun Kalan: This was Khwaja Bahauddin's eldest daughter, who married Hasan Attar, the son of Alauddin Attar. The record that she married Alauddin Attar in *Rashahat* is not correct. There were two sons from this marriage, Yusuf Attar and Muhammad Attar, and four daughters, whose names are not mentioned in any sources.

2. Bibicha Rabi'a Khatun: This was his second daughter, who married Maulana Fazlullah Nayistani.

3. Bibicha Sarvar Khatun: This was his youngest daughter, who married Abu'l-Khayr Turkistani after her father's death. There were three children from this marriage, Khwaja Bahauddin Nabira, Khwaja Amir Ali and Khwaja Mirak. It is known that Khwaja Amir Ali had three sons, Khwaja Mir Muhammad, Sheikh Zaynuddin and Khwaja Bahauddin. Of these Khwaja Mir Muhammad had three sons: Khwaja Mirak, Mirza Ayaq (Ayaz?) and Nizamuddin Ahmad.

Works attributed to Bahauddin Naqshband

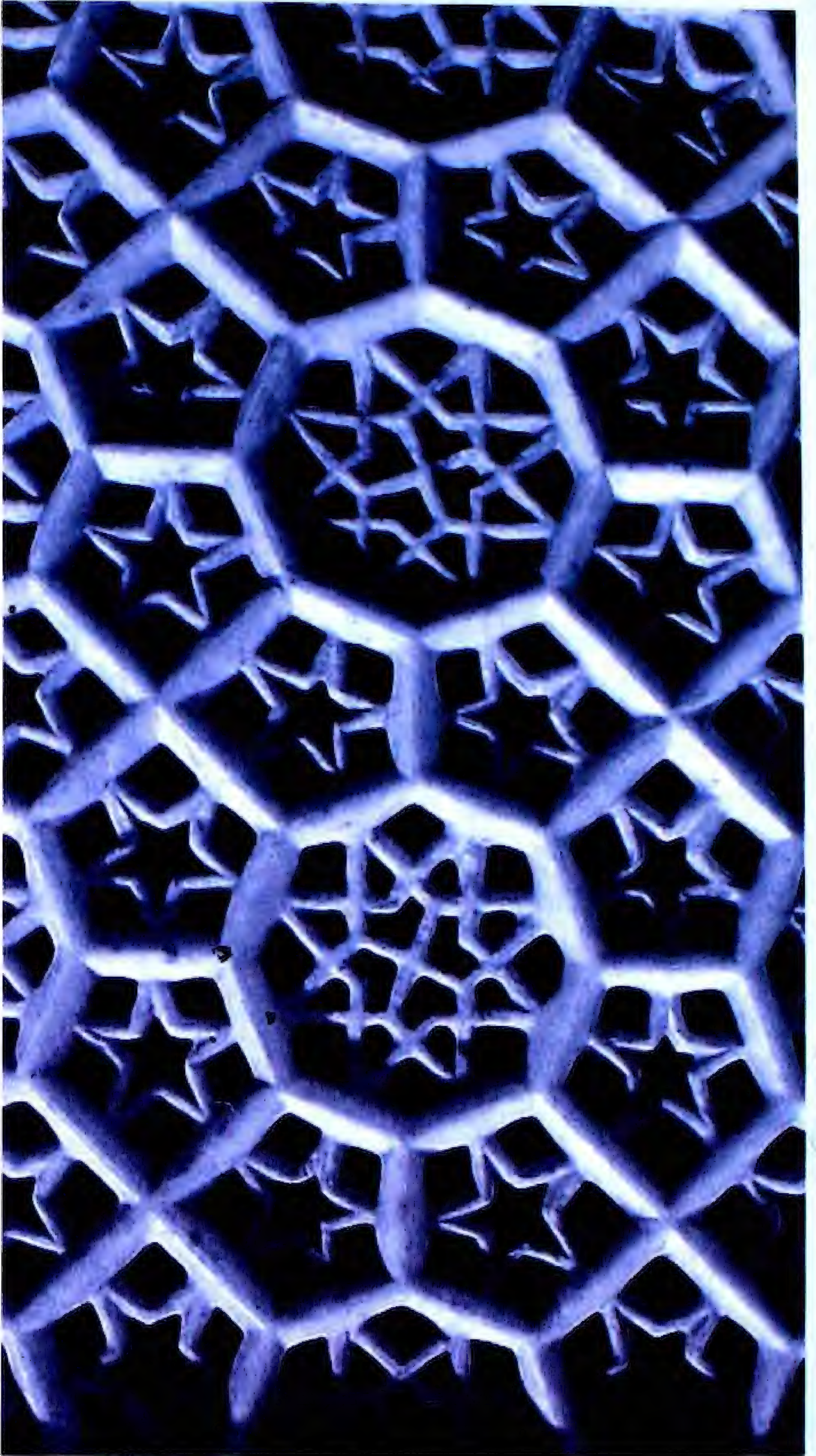
There are some works that have been attributed to Bahauddin Naqshband at later dates, but careful academic research has proven that no such works were written by him.

HIS SUFI THOUGHTS

A. Sufi Thoughts:

Faithfullness to Religious Law

Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband advised his disciples to follow the religious rules faithfully and to have *taqwa* (piety); he told them to act with *azimat* (perseverance), and to not take the easy path. He said that only perseverance would enable them to attain the degree of *valayat* (intimacy with God) and defined his *tariqa* (Sufi lineage) as one that followed the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad and the words of the Companions. Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband was extremely respectful in his approach to science and the scholars. It is for this reason that many scholars affiliated themselves with him and became disciples. As he had received a good education (in)on the hadiths, he was able to expound on them and elucidate them, making mystical commentaries. Naqshband knew Arabic, Turkish and Persian.

One of the basic characteristics of Naqshbandis is that they are completely bound by what is forbidden

and permitted in Islam (*the haram and the halal*) and they avoid superstitions and the *bid'at* practices that entered Islam at a later date). Because of this, Naqshbandis have been protected to a large extent from *bid'at* as well as from the influence of heterodox schools like *Batiniyya* and *Hurufiyya*. Hüseyin Vassaf (d. 1929) expressed this situation in the following words: "Because no *bid'at* was accepted by this grand lineage and because the members take their employment seriously, it was perceived positively by Islamic circles and it spread very quickly. The major effect on the spreading of the lineage was due to the esteem that the scholars held for it." This evaluation, made by Hüseyin Vassaf in the twentieth century, can be considered to be true of Naqshbandis over the centuries.

Khwaja Naqshband described his path as a trustworthy way and as observance of the sayings of the Prophet and the Companions. Being very particular about what was *haram* and what was *halal*, he would not eat food of which he was not sure, and would not allow for it to be fed to the disciples. He ate nothing from the table of Malik Husayn, as he looked with suspicion on food that was served at the table of a state ruler. He said, "Whatever we are given (spiritually) from God's grace is gained through actions that are carried out in accordance with the verses of the Qur'an and the hadiths of the Prophet. To realize these actions

we have to obey the rules of Shariah and the religious laws, persevere, act according to the Sunnah and the principles of the congregation (*ahl-i Sunnat wa'l-jamaah*) and avoid the *bid'at*."

In the thought of the sheikhs of Khwajagan and Naqshbandiyya, perseverance (*azimat*) is seen as being more important than adherence to regulations when this means making a choice between two right actions and choosing the easy way (*rukhsat*). Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani gave the following advice to Bahauddin Naqshband in a dream, "Always bow at the feet of the Shariah and act with perseverance and in accordance with the Sunnah; distance yourself from what is *rukhsat* and what is *bid'at*." Upon this advice, in order to act with perseverance, Khwaja Naqshband abandoned the *zikr-i jahri* (chanting out loud) and began to practice *zikr-i khafi* (silent chanting). One cold and snowy night when he needed to make *ghusl* (complete ablution), Naqshband was unable to find any water. Instead of acting as permitted (*rukhsat*) by the rules of Islam and using fine dust in place of water, he decided to persevere and went from Rivartun to Qasr-i Arifan, undergoing great difficulties, to find water to make his full ablution.

The Khwajagan Sufi lineage, which first appeared and settled in the region of Bukhara, a region deeply committed to acting in accordance with the Sunnah

and which had a deeply rooted belief in congregations, adopted the Sunni path and always maintained this aspect of its character. As opposed to many congregations, the fact that the lineage was not connected to Ali, but rather to Abu Bakr, symbolizes the importance given to the Ahl-i Sunnah by Khwajagan, and by Naqshbandis, who carried on in his tradition.

Mortification, Abstinence (*Riyazat*)

Bahauddin Naqshband was not only particular about adhering to religious rules; he also believed that the way to reach lofty stations on the Sufi path did not lie in a great deal of worship and struggle, but rather in realizing God's blessings. In fact, if one were to ask Malik Husayn himself whether he worked in this spiritual state or whether this was a divine gift, he would answer: "God's attracting man (to Himself) is equal for the actions of people and jinn. I fell into a state of ecstasy as a result of God's attracting me and I reached this spiritual state."

Due to such thoughts, disciples were not ordered to undergo mortification (i.e., to undergo extreme abstinence), and the importance of eating little and worshipping much was not often discussed. In fact, it is known that those disciples that did perform mortification were ordered to eat a good meal and to sleep comfortably until morning prayer. Yaqub Charkhi advised

a disciple who was performing a supererogatory fast to break his fast and eat something: "We have discovered that food is a better way to control the *nafs* (ego) than fasting..." This is because mortification and abstinence provide only a temporary state, and this is one that cannot be relied on. Naqshband had a Sufi understanding that combined "ecstasy" with the "Shariah," and he said: "The way of our lineage is in keeping with the words of Imam Qushayri and Fariduddin Attar." He must have been speaking of just such a synthesis.

Naqshband did not give any importance to self-denial. If there were no fruit or sweet after dinner, he would say, "This meal has no tail," seeing it as being deficient in some way. Once he was invited as a guest with some disciples. When he asked the host what was for dinner, the host replied that chicken and rice was being prepared. Naqshband asked whether the chickens were thin or fat with much flesh. The host presented the chickens. Naqshband checked each one and was pleased. Then, turning to his disciples and saying, "Eat dinner, sleep tonight and come see me in the morning," he departed.

According to reports, one disciple complained about the unruliness of his *nafs*, saying he wanted to defeat his *nafs* (ego) and practice self-denial (abstinence). Naqshband advised him, "Eat a lot of sweet, then go to a sherbet shop three days later and drink

some sherbet." The disciple did as he was told and found peace. Upon seeing this, another disciple, Haji Hullabaf, performed the same actions, but found no spiritual meaning. When Naqshband heard about this he told him, "That disciple was a school boy and his self-denial was thus. Your self-denial is to keep far from sin."

Once when the dervishes were eating together, Naqshband noticed that one of them was not eating. When he asked why this was, he was informed that the dervish was holding a supererogatory fast. Khwaja told him, "Come and eat! They have brought us through the gate of blessings. Our duty is to carry out not the supererogatory (*nafila*), but the obligatory (*farz*), the required (*wajib*) and the Sunnah." Even when at the threshold of death, Naqshband told Alauddin Ghujduvani to prepare the food and to eat: "To eat good food means to do good work."

Affiliation with a Sheikh (*Intisab*)

In Sufi training, to become a disciple, affiliated with a sheikh so that one can carry out supererogatory worship in addition to that which is required, to perform *zikr* and to become a better servant are considered supererogatory actions. In other words, this is a personal choice. However, over time the necessity of having a guide has been over-emphasized, with the

claim being made that some Sufis cannot make any progress without affiliation. Yaqub Charkhi (one of Naqshband's disciples) met such a sheikh in Tirmiz who overemphasized the significance of the sheikh, seeing this role as a necessity; he countered such thinking based on a verse from the Qur'an in which it is written, "Today you have completed your religion" (al-Maida, 5/3), and said that after following the Qur'an and the Sunnah it is not obligatory to tie oneself to a sheikh; when Charkhi explained this event to Bahauddin Naqshband, he approved and supported him.

According to reports, Bahauddin Naqshband would tell those who wanted to affiliate themselves with him, yet who had some material love in their hearts or who had a rude manner, that they should go fall in love with a girl, and after gaining some grace through that love and getting rid of their other material desires, should then return to him. He thought that it was easier for a person joining the lodge to turn to God after their worldly connections became limited.

According to Muhammad b. Nizam Khwarizmi Arzangi's commentary of Ali Ramiteni, in the matter of devotion the Khwajagan were different from other lineages in that with other lineages *intisab* was a matter of "will," while for the Khwajagan it was a matter of affiliation. According to him, in the matter of will the disciple abandons his will to that of the sheikh, and gives himself over like a dead person to be washed before burial. But for the sheikhs of the Khwajagan (and also Naqshbandis), as the disciple who is devoting himself is only allied to them, such surrender is not an issue. Disciples of other lineages who destroy their submission are described as *murtadd-i tariqa* (those who have left the lineage, have been expelled, *murid-i murtadd*). But a disciple who has only been affiliated can comfortably leave the lineage whenever they so desire. There is no con-

cept of *murtadd-i tariqa* in the Khwajagan tariqa (Arzangi, *Sharh-i Risala-yi Azizan*, p. 198).

Retreat and Music (*Khalwah and Sama'*)

Naqshband established the lineage on the principle of *subhat*. *Khalwah* (to retire for a certain period of time to worship, to go into retreat) was not employed; rather *khalwah* was practiced in a "council," with the basic principle being adopted that one is with God even among people. This principle is taken from Ghujduvani, known as *khalwat dar anjuman*. There was no loud *zikr* or *sama* (listening to music) on the Naqshbandi path. But the *sama* was not denigrated. The saying concerning the *sama*, "We do not denigrate it, but we do not perform it," is very well known.

Bahauddin Naqshband did not perform *sama* and recommended that the disciples should not be involved in it. According to reports, one of Naqshband's disciples participated in a *sama* ceremony in the city of Qarshi. When Naqshband saw the disciple he ignored him, and when they were alone he warned him, "In our

lineage there is no *zikr-i jahri* and no *raqs* (music and no going into a trance)." According to another report, one of the disciples, Khwaja Musafir of Khwarizm, arranged with some other disciples to bring hymn singers, a reed flute, a drum and other instruments. They wondered what reaction the sheikh would show. Khwaja Naqshband sat quietly in his place and said to them, "We do not do this, but we do not denigrate it."

Chivalry (*Futuvvah*) and Self-Blame (*Malamah*)

As Khwaja Bahauddin had a chivalrous nature, he was very generous. Anyone who brought him a gift was given one in return. Again, due to his chivalrous nature, he put great importance on working with his hands to earn money; he would not accept people as disciples who had no employment. He grew wheat and apricots, earning his living through agriculture. On this matter he would say: "One who puts his trust in God's hands should not see his ego and he should hide the fact that he has put himself in God's hands by working." His principle was to work and to earn money for the corporeal world, so as not to be a burden on anyone else, but while working, not to be unaware of God. When on pilgrimage he saw two people, one of whose service and heart were lowly, while the other's were lofty. The person with a lowly heart sat in front of the door of

the Ka'ba, asking for worldly goods from people. The lofty one wandered through the shops and market (the Mina market), doing business, and even though he carried out trade worth thousands of gold pieces, he was still aware of God's presence. When Naqshband saw the one of lofty character, he was greatly moved and his heart was gladdened.

As Khwaja Bahauddin had a nature of self-blame (that is he avoided hypocrisy by doing good deeds), he gave no importance to any definite style of clothing. As he had no certain style, he did not order the disciples to don any particular style of clothing. It is only known that he had a conical hat, and this he gave to a poor person. That the members of the lineage he founded gave no great importance to dervish clothing can be seen in the following quote from Hüseyin Vassaf: "The members of the Naqshbandi Sufi way, unlike the other Sufi lineage, gave no importance to the matter of costume. The principle was that everybody dressed according to their profession. The sheikhs of the Naqshbandiyya wore the garb of scholars. However, there were among them those who used the *taj-i Naqshbandi* (crown or turban of Naqshbandis)."

Another characteristic of his humble nature was that he gave no importance to any miraculous actions and tried to hide them. He would say to those who desired for him to perform a miracle, "Our miracle is

clear for all to see. Because of this, despite so many sins, we are able to walk on the earth." It has been reported that he said the following concerning miracles, "Even if one enters a garden and hears every leaf calling to you 'O, beloved of God,' you shouldn't pay any attention to this; on the contrary, you should increase your efforts as a servant of God." Some of the disciples spoke of miracles that they had seen performed by Khwaja Bahauddin; "Those were miracles of the disciples" he would say, showing his humility. While he was still alive, Husamuddin Khwaja Yusuf, one of the disciples, wished to write down the words and actions Naqshband had performed for God, but he did not allow this; this is an event that shows his great humility.

Naqshbandis make a great effort to disguise their spiritual state in order to avoid hypocrisy and pride. It is known that Bahauddin Naqshband recited the following couplet, which expresses the secreting of the spiritual nature at his *subhats*:

Be acquainted with the God within, act without as if you know not

Such beautiful behavior is little seen in the world.

Unity (*Vahdat*)

It is known that Bahauddin Naqshband read poems like the following at his *subhats:*

"There is no belief and disbelief in the path of love."

Two scholars were arguing about the matter of belief in front of his house; "If you want to join in my *subhats*, give up discussing the issues of belief," Bahahuddin Naqshband said.

According to reports, Khwaja Bahauddin reached the spiritual state of Hallaj. And he had to hold himself back from saying that he had become one with God (*Ana'l-Haqq*). When this happened, Khwaja Bahauddin went to the gallows in Bukhara, saying to himself: "If you say that word, this is where you will end up." It is said that in this way he surpassed the station at which he found himself with the gifts of God and progressed to even higher stations.

There is a story in *Anisu't-talibin* that goes as follows: "Bahauddin Naqshband was asked: 'What does it mean when one of our sheikhs (Ibnu'l Arabi was being referred to here) says the *valayat-i Muhammadiyya* (the sainthood of Prophet Muhammad) has reached perfection with us?' He answered thus: 'They were the perfect inheritors of sainthood in their time.'"

Malik Husayn said to Bahauddin Naqshband: "It is said that the sainthood is above prophethood. Which sainthood is above prophethood?" Naqshband replied: "A prophet's sainthood is above his prophethood." As the same answer can be found in Ibnu'l-Arabi's

Fususu'l-hikam, we can assume that Naqshband was familiar with the culture of *Fusus*.

Affiliation to a Dead Sheikh (*Uwaysi*)

Khwaja Bahauddin devoted himself to many sheikhs, both Turk and Tajik during his discipleship; he also gave great importance to practicing the *Uwaysi* way of those sheikhs who had lived before, getting inspiration from their spirituality (*fayz*) to develop. He declared when he turned towards the spirituality of Uways Qarani (d. 37/657) that he had rid himself of outward and inner ties; when he turned towards the spirituality of Hakim Tirmizi (d. 320/932), he had reached a level where there are no attributions. Taking the advice of Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani, he did not practice the *zikr-i jahri* (chanting aloud); if we take into consideration that he even left the lodge of Amir Kulal when chanting aloud began, then it becomes obvious that Muhammad Parsa was right when he said he was in fact a disciple of Ghujduvani, on "the path of affiliation with our Khwaja (teacher)."

It can be understood that Bahauddin Naqshband gave importance to the thoughts of Hakim Tirmizi as well as those of Ghujduvani. In 789 (1387), Naqshband told his disciples that he had been following the way of Hakim Tirmizi for 22 years. It has been reported that he once said the following: "The lover of God that

would appear in Bukhara and who would have one-third of the bequest of the Prophet indicated by Hakim Tirmizi was me." Hakim Tirmizi is a well-known Sufi, particularly for his ideas on sainthood, in the history of Sufism. One of the works which includes Naqshband's stories is *Anisut-talibin*. The first section of this work deals with the concepts of *valayah* and *vali* (sainthood and saint), and many quotations from Hakim Tirmizi are included here. In connection with this matter, it is possible to see traces of the concept of *rijal-i ghayb* in the first period of early Naqshbandis. On the other hand, the philosophical similarity between the Khwajagan and Naqshbandi sheikhs can be better understood if we take into consideration the fact that Hakim Tirmizi was a Sufi who was inclined toward chivalry and self-blame, as well as the fact that in one of his works called *Bayanu'l-kasb* he insisted on the importance of working and earning.

Despite Bahauddin Naqshband giving importance to *Uwaysi* education, with the aim of emphasizing the importance, or rather the greater importance, of devoting oneself to a living sheikh, it has been reported that he said, "A live cat is better than a dead lion."

Service (*Khidmah*)

Bahauddin Naqshband gave great importance to performing services for creatures. It is known that

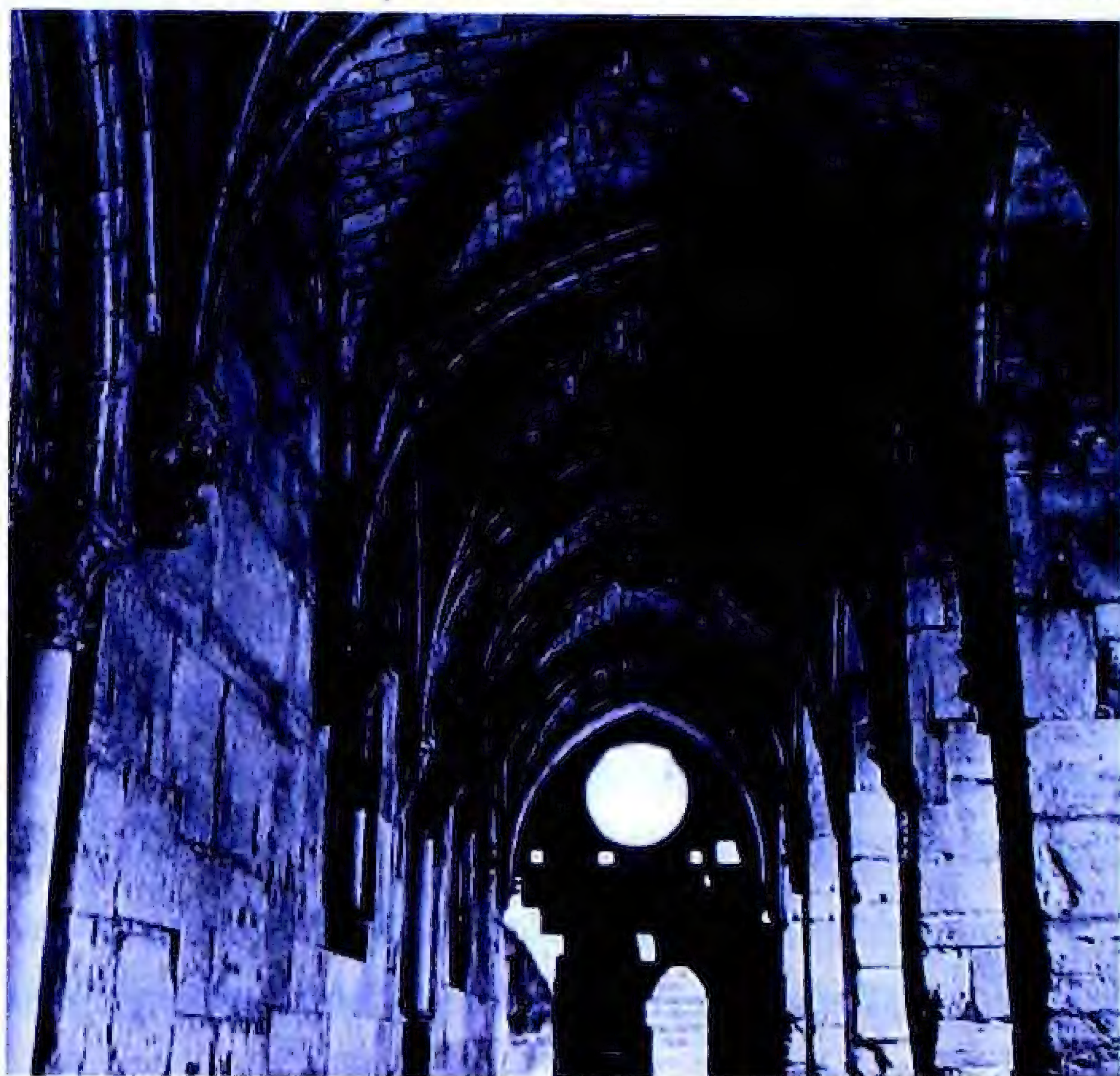
he was occupied during his discipleship with clearing things that could harm people from the roads. When the mosque in Qasr-i Arifan was being built, he carried the mud that was to be used as plaster up to the roof on his head. He carried wood on his back for the stove in the lodge of Sheikh Amir Kulal. During his youth he cleaned all the *madrasas* (schools) in Bukhara. When a visitor or guest came to his house, he would provide all sorts of services and offer refreshments. One time he was ill and the disciples in Bukhara came to visit him. Despite his illness he met them with a smiling face, and went with a couple of disciples to bring some sheep. Naqshband carried one of the sheep on his own shoulders. He himself was involved in cooking and offering of the meat to the disciples.

When he was a disciple, Bahauddin Naqshband provided services to many animals on the recommendation of his sheikh. He took on the responsibility for their care, grooming and medical treatment. He would help dogs that he found in the road. He would perform these duties as animals were creations of God and they carried traces of the Divine Glance. He would perform all the necessary services for the animal he rode in the same way that he performed all the necessary services for a guest staying in his house.

Bahauddin Naqshband loved to perform services, but he avoided accepting services from others. This

was because a person would feel interest and connection to a person who did good deeds for them. This was not desirable, because it could cause a person to allow his love and devotion to God to be redirected toward another.

B. Some Memorable Words

The following words of Khwaja Bahauddin, directed towards disciples during their Sufi education, are noteworthy: "We can train a disciple either on the way of *jazba* (ecstacy) or on the way of *suluk* (Sufi training). This is up to us. Some of those who come to our *subhat* have the seed of love (*muhabbah)* in their hearts. But

because they have worldly ties, this seed does not develop and grow. It is our duty to clear away such ties. Some of them have no seeds of love in their hearts; it is our duty here to create that seed."

"The inspiration of *zikr* is like putting a flint into someone's hand. The actions that result in something positive are up to the disciple." (That is, it is up to the disciple to start a fire of love by striking the flint). When Khwaja Bahauddin went to visit someone, after asking about the host himself, he would go on to ask about the members of the family, their relatives, the horses and donkeys, even the chickens, and thus would strive to win that person's heart. When preparing a meal in a meeting, he would offer food that he had himself prepared with his own hands.

One of his famous expressions is as follows: "We are uniting the end with the beginning." What he was expressing here was that the end of all states was *jazba* (ecstasy) while love was the beginning of the Naqshbandi lineage. Another quote of his is as follows: "All the sheikhs have two faces (directions) in the mirror. Our mirror has six directions." These words were first commented on by Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who was known as Imam Rabbani (d. 1034/1624). He stated that what was being expressed by the word mirror was the heart of a gnostic, that the two directions were the paths taken by the spirit and the *nafs* (ego), while the

six paths were the six *lataif* (subtle spiritual centers: the *qalb*, *ruh*, *sirr*, *khafi*, *akhfa* and the *nafs*). Bahauddin Naqshband described *muraqabah* (contemplation or self-examination) as follows: "*Muraqabah* is to gaze on the Creator continuously and to forget seeing the creation. We have found the way to reach this road in this state. It is to oppose the *nafs*." Ya'kub Charkhi, one of the disciples of Naqshband, said that Naqshband was a saint with higher qualities than a sheikh and was the *qutb-i irshad* (the center of guidance) of his time.

Bahauddin Naqshband described the *zikr* that would hold back the *nafs* as follows: the disciple should say the *kalima-yi tawhid* in one breath at most 21 times. Upon saying *La* (not) one declares the non-existence of the physical being, and when one says *illallah* (there is only God) he sees the effects of *jazba-yi uluhiyyat* (the ecstasy of Allah).

The hadith, "He who earns through work is a friend of Allah," has been interpreted to mean: "He who does not strive for worldly goods, but rather for God's pleasure, is His friend."

C. New Approaches Introduced by Bahauddin Naqshband

Perhaps the most important thing that Naqshband did was deny the concept that separated Sufism and the

external dimensions of religious knowledge, in other words, the idea that the Sufis and the religious scholars, or the lodge and the religious schools were separate; he refused to see them as being rivals of one another and showed great respect to religious scholars. Because of this, the foundations laid in connection to the rules of Islam and the Sunni concepts were never disrupted and were able to continue for hundreds of years, being protected to a great degree against the influences of heterodox currents. Moreover, Naqshband, in the period when some began to misinterpret the concept of self-blame, was able to combine this religious line with this concept and to create a new synthesis.

One of the renewals (revivals) that Naqshband brought about was to revitalize the almost forgotten principle of silent *zikr* of the Khwajagan lineage. In the branch of Mahmud Anjirfagnavi, in which the Khwajagan lineage continued, the loud *zikr* was continued until the time of Bahauddin Naqshband, and it was Naqshband, advised by Ghujduvani to perform the silent chanting in a dream, who once again brought about silent *zikr*.

The principles that took prime place in the Sufi education of the Naqshbandiyye have been summarized in 11 Persian terms. These are the rules that must be observed by the disciples in their daily life and during the *zikr*. These rules are called the *kalimat-ı qud-*

وجعلناكم
شعوبا وقبائل

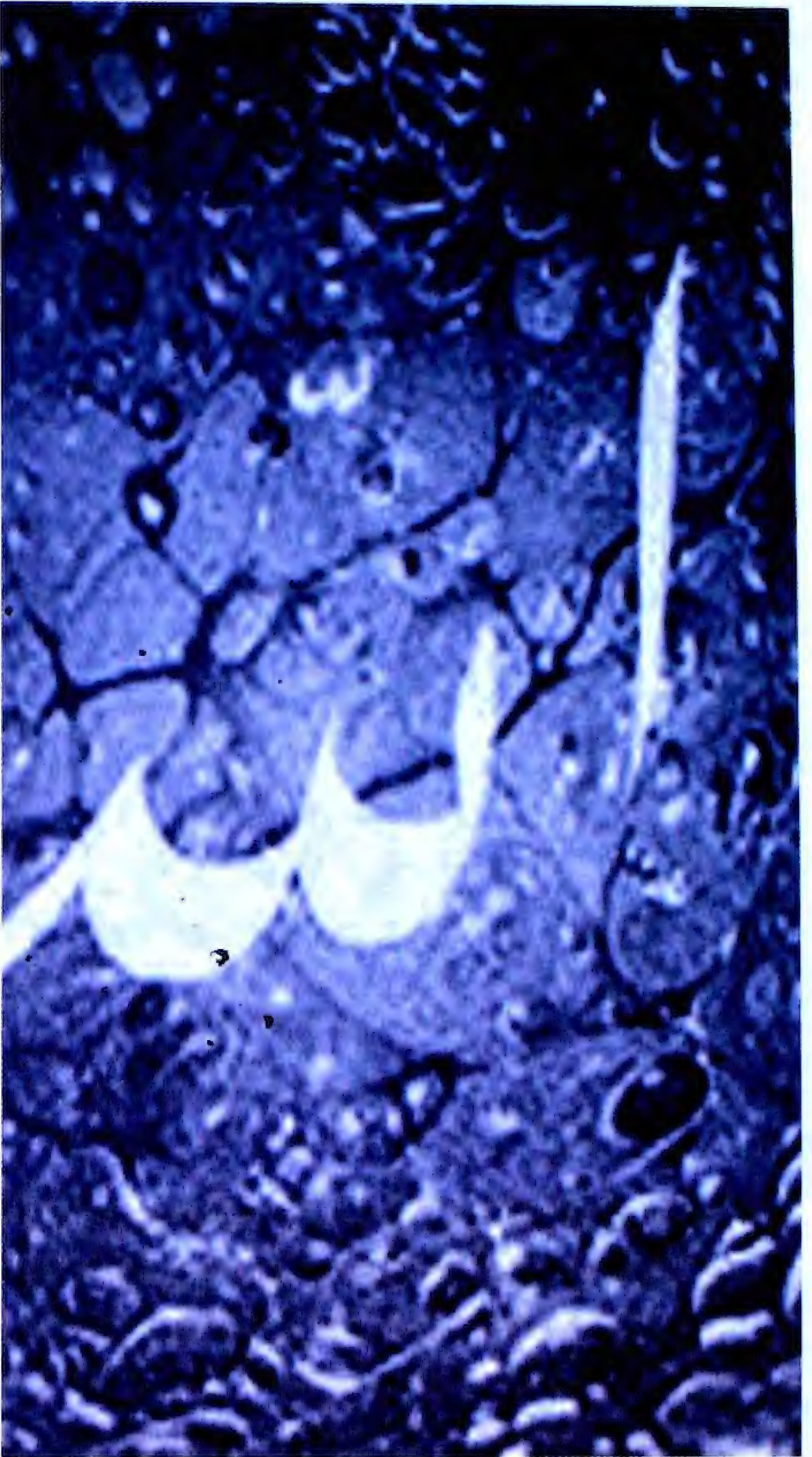
siyya (valuable words) in Naqshbandi literature. In the first period of Naqshbandi texts it is stated that the first eight of these eleven rules were determined by Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani, and that with *wuquf-i zamani*, *wuquf-i adadi* and *wuquf-i qalbi*, three more rules were added, but it is not clear who determined these rules. Some works written in the 19th century or later claim that Bahauddin Naqshband added these last three rules and that this information has been transferred to later works. But if one takes into account that of these three rules, the *wuquf-i adadi*, that is performing the *zikr* by counting while holding the breath, was taught to Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani by Khidr (the Green Man), then it is clear that these rules were known and practiced by the Khwajagan lineage before the time of Bahauddin Naqshband. Moreover, as it is known that Naqshband did not see the performance of the *wuquf-i adadi* as necessary, it would be very difficult to say that these rules were introduced by him.

D. Some Hagiographic Events (*Manaqib*)

According to reports, one cold evening Bahauddin Naqshband went to Amir Kulal's lodge. Amir Kulal ordered his disciples to remove Naqshband from the lodge. When Bahauddin Naqshband wanted to enter the lodge again, Amir Kulal told him, "You have no business at this door," and threw him out of the lodge.

As he walked along the road, Naqshband struggled with his nafs and decided that he would not go to the lodge again. On the road back from Bukhara he entered a gaming house. A person who had lost everything he had while gambling said to his friend, "Oh, my pleasant friend! Now I will put my soul on the line. Just play with me and I will give you my soul." Naqshband heard this and said to himself, "Oh, Bahauddin! Shame, you are even worse than the gamblers in their devotion to each other," and abandoning the gaming house, headed for the lodge, where he lay down at the threshold. On the way thorns had pricked his feet, and they were cut up. He lay at the threshold that cold night until morning. Amir Kulal, on his way to morning prayer, did not see him and stepped on Bahauddin Naqshband's head. He showed him mercy upon seeing him at the threshold and took him inside, wrapped him up, cleansed his feet of the thorns and said, "O my son! You are worthy of this garment of bliss."

This event most likely happened after Bahauddin Naqshband had abandoned Amir Kulal's circle and after he had spent many years with the Central Asian ruler Ghazan Khan Khalil, upon his return to Bukhara.

It is reported that in the later period of his sheikhdom Bahauddin Naqshband said the following: "When I leave my house every morning, I always wonder whether a disciple has placed his/her head on my

threshold or not. But now everyone is a sheikh and there are no disciples."

Bahauddin Naqshband related an event from his youth as follows: "It was winter and very cold, the water had all frozen over. One night we were in the Rivertun village of Bukhara and we were at home with a group of dervishes. That night I needed to perform complete ablution (*ghuhsl*). Leaving the house I looked for a container to hold water in, if I were able to get any by breaking the ice. But, even though I looked everywhere, I was not able to find anything. I didn't want to disturb anyone to ask for help and therefore I didn't say anything to anyone. There was an old animal skin. I wrapped it around myself and that cold night I went from Rivertun to Qasr-i Arifan to my home. Because I didn't want to disturb any of my family, I searched around the house. Finally near the pool in the mosque I found a container. It was what we used for watering the livestock. With much trouble and effort I managed to break the ice. I hurt my hand while I was doing this. I took water and made my ablution. The cold affected me greatly. I wrapped myself up in that old animal skin again. That cold night I went back from Qasr-i Arifan to Rivertun." This story shows that it was not the permitted action *(rukhsat)*, but the determined action *(azimah)* that Naqshband saw as being important, and this shows his perseverance and diligence.

Khwaja Saqqa-yi Samarqandi left Samarqand to go to Bukhara in order to become a disciple of Bahauddin Naqshband. As he was getting ready to set out for Samarqand, his mother gave him four dinar (money). Khwaja Saqqa went to call on Sheikh Naqshband and said that he wanted to be in his service; even though it was not the common practice, Bahauddin Naqshband said: "We cannot accept you until you give us something from the material world." Khwaja Saqqa emphatically stated that he was very poor and was not a person of wealth, upon which Sheikh Naqshband said to his disciples: "He has four dinar in his pocket that his mother gave him; bring it here." Khwaja Saqqa watched in amazement as Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband refused to take the money, but rather gave it to children who were playing there. The children were not interested in the money and flung it in the corner. Khwaja Saqqa was even more embarrassed upon seeing this. Naqshband told him, "There is no worse trait than being mean. What value does four dinars have for a disciple on the road to God?" After saying this he accepted Khwaja Saqqa as a disciple.

One of Sheikh Naqshband's disciples narrated the following: "I became affiliated with Khwaja Naqshband. One day he honored me with a visit to the shop in which I was trading. That day I had earned a lot of money. He asked me 'What did you earn today?' 'I don't know,' I said, 'but it is all here,' and brought it

over to him. He put it into an apron and took it away. When I got home everybody was talking about this and saying bad things. I agreed with some of them. Suddenly, at midnight, Khwaja Naqshband sent the apron back, with everything in it. I was so embarrassed and troubled, but I found peace when my master saved me from trouble with his kindness."

According to reports, when a merchant's ship sunk in the Indian Ocean, the merchant requested spiritual help from Bahauddin Naqshband and promised him 1,000 flori (gold coins). Having been rescued, he came to Bukhara. As he went to see Bahauddin Naqshband, he began to worry and thought, "It will be enough if I repay 500 flori." He went up to Naqshband and handed over 500 flori. Naqshband read a verse that meant, "Your promise was twice this amount," and said, "Look what happened to my back when I was pulling your ship," showing the rope burns on his back. Then the man donated all his property and became a disciple of Khwaja Bahauddin.

E. Notes from Religious Gatherings (*Subhats*)

One of Bahauddin Naqshband's students, Muhammad Parsa, took some notes from the sheikh's *subhats*; by recording them in twelve parts and adding explanations to these notes, he produced the work that carries the title *Risala-yi Qudsiyya*. Some of the words that

belong to Bahauddin Naqshband that are recorded in this work are as follows:

Article 1

To be a Muslim, one must accept the rules of the religion (Shariah), act in a pious way (*taqwa* - doing what is expected of you and distancing yourself from what is forbidden), be resolute in your actions and, as far as you have strength to do so, avoid those things that are permitted (but not necessarily beneficial actions) and to emit light, purity and mercy. All of these have different degrees of sainthood and are means to reach the highest stations. The saints of Allah have reached the station of sainthood with these attributes.

Article 2

If a spiritual traveler is educated with both the attributes of glory (*jalal*) and beauty (*jamal*), then that traveler's glory will be beautiful and their beauty will be glorious. When the awe of God (*khavf*) becomes stronger, then comes hope (*raja*). When *raja* becomes stronger, then comes *khavf*; this is a petition for elevation. When the petition becomes supreme, then the awe becomes apparent. When the disciple achieves the state of *jalal*, one can head toward God with the attribute of *jamal*. The sultan of the gnostics, Abu Yazid Bistami looked on his disciple Abu Turab Nakhshabi (Nasafi) with the glance of *jalal*. But he was educated

with the attribute of *jamal*. If he had been educated with both attributes, then he would have been able to bear the weight of his glance of *jalal*.

Once we were with a faithful dervish called Muhammad Zahid in the open countryside. We had gone out to carry out a task and had axes with us. We fell into a certain spiritual state. And we abandoned the axes and started to walk in the wilderness. We discussed all kinds of subjects with each other. We touched on the subject of servanthood and sacrificing oneself. He said, "To what point does sacrifice go, what is the final limit?" I answered, "The final limit of sacrifice is this: if they tell a disciple 'you must die,' then they should die right away." As I said this word I fell into a state and I turned my face to Muhammad Zahid and said, "Die." He immediately fell and his spirit separated from him. After his spirit had departed I turned him on his back with his face to the sky and his feet pointing toward the *qibla* (the direction of Mecca), and until midmorning he stayed like that for half the day. The weather was very hot that day and the sun was in Libra. I was very sad and upset by these events. I sat in a shady spot close to where he was, in shock for a while. I returned from there to his side and looked at his face. The sun had turned his face dark. I was even more surprised. While in this state, suddenly my heart was inspired to say, "Oh, Muhammad Zahid, be alive!" I said these

words three times. I began to see signs of life and the parts of his body began to move. He came back to life and returned to normal.

I went to Sheikh Amir Kulal. I told him about what had happened. While talking to him I said, "The soul departed from the body and I was surprised." Amir Kulal enjoined me, "O my son! Why did you not command him to life straight away?" I said, "My heart was inspired and I said it then; then he returned to normal."

Article 3

The reason why people feel far from God Almighty is that they distance themselves and they willingly take on too many burdens. There is no fault with the *fayz-i ilahi* (the Light of God). Sayyid Amir Kulal said the following as an example: "As long as one cannot remove oneself from love for this world and is bound to the whispers of one's connections, the earthenware pot that is one's body is of no use. To make an earthenware pot usable it must be put in a kiln. Some of the pots that go in the Sufi kiln are sound, while others are taken out broken. This is a manifestation of the Eternal Will. It is our duty to keep hoping for those broken pots; they can be broken down again, mixed with mud and made into another pot to be put back in the kiln. We keep doing this until we get a sound pot."

Bahauddin Naqshband said the following: "Amir Kulal spent three days at the end of his life facing the

direction of Mecca. He spoke with no one. After three days he spoke and said, 'Thanks be to God,' and then said the following: 'The reason I have turned my attention in that direction was to see if I would be accepted or turned away from this door."

Article 4

Turning toward the spirituality of Uvays Qarani means disconnecting from the interests of the outer and inner dimensions and distancing oneself. Also when looking at the spirituality of the guide of the saints, Khwaja Muhammad Ali Hakim Tirmizi, the only thing that can be found is non-attribution (i.e., there are no applicable labels). Even though there was some development in this kind of Sufi training, there are no traces, no vestiges, no dust nor any attributes to be seen. The spiritual body is lost in the light of the Truth; even if the mind searches for something within itself, it cannot find anything but non-attribution and infinity.

Article 5

The hadith, *"When you refresh your wudu (ablution), Almighty Allah will unite you and your actions,"* is speaking of both the inner and external dimensions (that is one cleans both the body and the heart). This will bring about the cleansing of the heart and bring it to the truth. The cleansing of the heart during the dec-

laration of oneness eliminates all connections of the spiritual and physical being. If all these connections are eliminated, this means that one's states are orderly. The sign of this state of orderliness is that ones actions are orderly and that one obeys what is permitted and forbidden by Allah and respects His edicts. The condition of one's state is understood by one's orderly actions. In short, the orderliness of one's state can be known by nothing other than the orderliness of one's actions.

For a spiritual traveler to reach a station, they must know the method and make an effort. The method is to show respect to the saints of God. Effort is to work and strive in the path of God and to carry out the assigned duties. These are all necessary things and we act upon them. To be the one to whom the verse, "O ye who believe! Why say ye that which you do not?" (Saff, 61/2), is addressed is not a good thing.

The *zikr* to Allah found in the verse in Baqara, 2/152, ("Then do ye remember Me; I will remember You. Be grateful to Me, And reject not Faith"), speaks of God's help that will be given to the servant for performing *zikr* to God.

Those things that we see and know are other than God Almighty and act as a veil to Him. The *la* of the *kalima-yi tawhid* allows us to eliminate those things that are other to God. (Note: Imam Rabbani Ahmad

Sihrindi stated that this last sentence was a source of inspiration for him on the path of *vahdat-i shuhud* - the witnessing of the oneness).

The most important condition for the spiritual journey is "to eliminate the thoughts of the heart"; that is, to eliminate worldly thoughts when making *zikr* and self-assessment. This will not happen without domination of the physical being by non-existence. The dominance of non-existence is the result of divine ecstasy. *Wuquf-i qalb* (total control of the heart) is carried out in order to see the traces and the result of ecstasy. These traces and results take up a place in the heart. To keep track of the number of *zikr* in the heart is a precaution that is taken to stop the mind from wandering.

If the number of *zikr* in the heart is (while holding one's breath) over 21 and this effect is not witnessed, then this is evidence that the *zikr* has been performed without a result and without a reward. The result of a *zikr* is thus: when one says *la* one should witness the elimination of the physical being and when one says *illallah* one should witness domination by divine ecstasy.

God says, "What is with you must vanish: What is with God will endure, and We will certainly bestow on those who patiently persevere their reward according to the best of their actions" (Nahl, 16/96). The meaning of this verse is that the following should be known: There will come a time when devout and charitable ac-

tions will be accepted in God's realm. The sign that actions have been accepted is the elimination of the ego and the witnessing of the effects of divine ecstasy.

Article 6

If one is an *ahl-i talwin* (a person whose states continuous change), this means that they are a *nadim* (courtier); that is one who is a friend of the Sultan. They would not enter into the Sultan's presence as long as He does not desire so. Those who are *ahl-i tamkin* are like a vizier, in that the Sultan makes them His representatives. They have the right of choice in government; they have free reign in this matter. Because of this, *ahl-i tamkin* can be sure that their states will not disappear. However, if they so wish, with their own will, they can go from one attribute to another; they can pass from one state to another. *Ahl-i tamkin* also have *talwin* (states of the heart that occur on the path). However, the difference is that they can control the internal states and overcome them; controlling them, they can cover them and hide them.

Among the saints those who possess the spiritual states measure these states against the rules of the Shariah. If these states are fitting to the regulations of the Shariah, they can be confident of them and these are brought out into the open. If the state is contrary to the Shariah, then they cannot rely upon them.

One of the Sufi sheikhs said as follows: "I will not accept the words that emit from my heart until I have checked them against the two righteous witnesses, the Qur'an and the Sunnah."

The night that Abdullah Khojandi reached us was in the twelfth year after Hakim Tirmizi had spoken with him in his dream in Tirmiz. Hakim Tirmizi said this to Abdullah Khojandi in his dream: "Don't feel sad! You have no sheikh whom you will accept now. He will appear to you in Bukhara, 12 years from now and you will attend his *subhats*." Events happened just as they occurred in the dream and Abdullah Khojandi wanted to become a disciple. The same night he had the following dream: (Khojandi tells us) "They took me and I reached the treasury. A small door (window) on top of the treasury became visible. There was a chain and lock on this door. They brought the key to that lock and handed it over to me. I wanted to open the lock; I opened it partially and a great light appeared. I said to myself: 'If I open this door now, no one will be able to bear the light. Since I have the key, I can open the door whenever and as much as necessary.'"

Article 7

The roads of saints are different from one another. Some act with permission. The intention of such people is not for themselves, but for the benefit of the people. Some work with determination. Again, their intention

is not for themselves, but for the good of the people. There is great benefit in actions that are carried out with determination. They always appear complete and are far from danger.

Everyone is busy with some occupation. Every person is like a tree. There is no such thing as a useless tree. Trees bear fruit, although they may all taste different, or they provide shade for people to rest in or their beauty and freshness is an inspiration for people's emotions.

Everyone wishes something different at your door.

They are running and searching for the different thing.

No matter how little the work or burden that someone carries,

Everyone is occupied and no one is without work (useless).

Article 8

The state of *ahl-i batin* means that one sees the actions that one performs as insufficient, one is humble, undergoes hardship, one perceives himself as being weak, his actions as being flawed and his states as imperfect. There is nothing that helps one eliminate the physical body and the ego as much as "seeing one's own faults." This is one part of the wisdom of the *zalla* (small errors) committed by the Prophets.

True penitence is to repent of the physical being, the source of sin. This occurs after one has become acquainted with the physical presence and has realized the misery of continuity. In this state of misery and weakness, the heart pleads and begs God Almighty. This is true penitence.

The people are afraid of you, but I fear myself,

Because from You comes good, but I have seen evil from myself.

Give to me the blessings of the troubles of Muslims,

Please present me with the disappearance of my torturous ego.

If one of the beloveds of God makes an error, it is a blessing that leads to the disappearance of his physical being and ego. An example of such blessings is the feelings of Prophet Moses (pbuh), which were in keeping with the Shariah, when he objected to the actions of Khidr; Moses' ego disappeared when he understood that his objections had been mistaken.

The genuine guide, God, will educate His entire beloved in a different manner according to their individual states and character. Just as the saints of the *ummah* (believers) have shares of the sainthood of Prophet Muhammad, also they certainly have shares from other prophets and saints. Saints receive their share of *ilm-i ladunni* by asking help from the spiri-

tuality of Khidr (the Green Man). However the saints will sometimes be unaware of this gift because of their physical beings.

Article 9

The method of this lineage is as follows: To be one with Allah in public is better than being with Allah in seclusion. Being one with God is like a jewel. The degree to which one hides that state (in public) is the purity of the jewel. This was expressed in the following way:

Know God through your heart but appear as if you are unaware of Him.

This kind of beauty is seldom found in the world.

One of the epithets of the Khwajagan masters was as follows: "Close the door of isolation, open the door of service! Close the door to sheikhdom, open the door to friendship! Close the door to hermitage, open the door to *subhat*!"

The genuineness of intention is expressed as follows: The spirituality of every action is the intention of that action. If there is no intention, hope will achieve nothing, and no results can be attained. For this reason, the way for a person to gain purity of faith is not found in examining the results, but rather the intentions.

Article 10

People cannot know in which attribute or in which state they will die. Some will be in safety; some will

be in pain or distress. This is something against which precautions cannot be taken and one cannot help but be amazed by this state. Everyone matures by winning an attribute; however, at the end of everything is amazement and bewilderment.

People should know that they should surrender to fate, that they should leave their whole being to God Almighty. The beginning and the middle are known, but the ending cannot be known. People cannot know in what attribute or state they will meet their end. Everyone is thus. Fariduddin Attar said:

The heroes who lead the way and see the path
Sometimes found the footprints and followed.
Their souls were rendered full of longing,
They made weakness and amazement their comrades
Many dived into this bottomless sea.
But there was no news of any.
You may think that this is easy;
To leave life is the least.
I was completely confused and in amazement
I found no help but helplessness.
What can I say? There is no other way but to remain quiet.
Thus, there is no point in sighing for anyone.

Article 11

When a spiritual traveler has matured enough

there is no difference between his heart and his tongue. That is, worldly pursuits are no longer a barrier for his heart and inner spirituality. The inner spiritual pursuits will not act as a veil for worldly pursuits. A traveler who has reached this station can invite people to God and be a guide. The maturity of the traveler is indicated by the state of *fana* (non-existence, annihilation) and that they have reached the *sayr fillah* (travel in God).

When the travelers perceive the heavenly attraction within themselves and when they attain the attribute of heavenly ecstasy, there is no doubt that they can affect the hearts of others and they can govern the inner spirituality of others. This governance and ability to affect actually belongs to God Almighty.

Article 12

The body that has reached *adam* (a type of non-existence) can again return to physical existence. But the body that has achieved *fana* (a state where one is no longer aware of oneself) can never return to a body of *adam* or the physical body. No creature can change its body after having achieved *fana*. The aim of the physical body is the *tabii-asli* (actual) body, not the *tabii-arizi* (temporal) body. The *tabii-arizi* body cannot harm the reality of *fana*, because the temporal body is a reflection of human nature, not the reality.

Moses saw a fire in a tree.

The tree grew even greener from the fire

Know that the lust and greed of the people of the heart are like this as well

There is an authenticated hadith: "I am a person like you. I become angry like other people; I am pleased as others are pleased." This hadith confirms what is said in the verse above.

When people of wisdom leave states of *fana fillah* and achieve the state of *baqa billah*, then they are able to see things in themselves; what they recognize, they recognize in themselves. They are in a state of astonishment within their own beings. "As also in your own Selves: will ye not then see?" (Zariyat, 50/21). The following saying also states the same fact: "*God knows he who knows himself.*"

HIS INFLUENCE

A. Representatives and Tariqa (Sufi Way)

Bahauddin Naqshband educated many disciples. It is not known exactly how many of these became caliphs. It is understood that after Naqshband the lineage was split into four branches, led by four different caliphs: 1. Alauddin Attar, 2. Muhammad Parsa, 3. Yaqub Charkhi, 4. Alauddin Ghujduvani.

After Bahauddin Naqshband's death Alauddin Attar began to guide, with the other disciples and caliphs following him. The real division of the lineage into branches happened after Attar. The Alaiyya branch that began with Alauddin Attar separated into two with his son Hasan Attar and the caliph Nizamuddin Khamush. Other representatives of Bahauddin Naqshband, that is, Muhammad Parsa, Yaqub Charkhi and Alauddin Ghujduvani, continued to give guidance in different regions.

The branches that began with Alauddin Ghujduvani (d. 852/1448) and Muhammed Parsa (d. 822/1420) did not become very widespread or influential. The basic lineage was carried on by the other two

branches, that is, the branch of Alauddin Attar (Alaiyye) and that of Yaqub Charkhi. There is an opinion that dominates, as stated in the authentic sources, that Charkhi was not only a caliph of Naqshband for many years, but also took part in the *subhats* of Alauddin Attar. Therefore, he is generally accepted as the caliph of Attar.

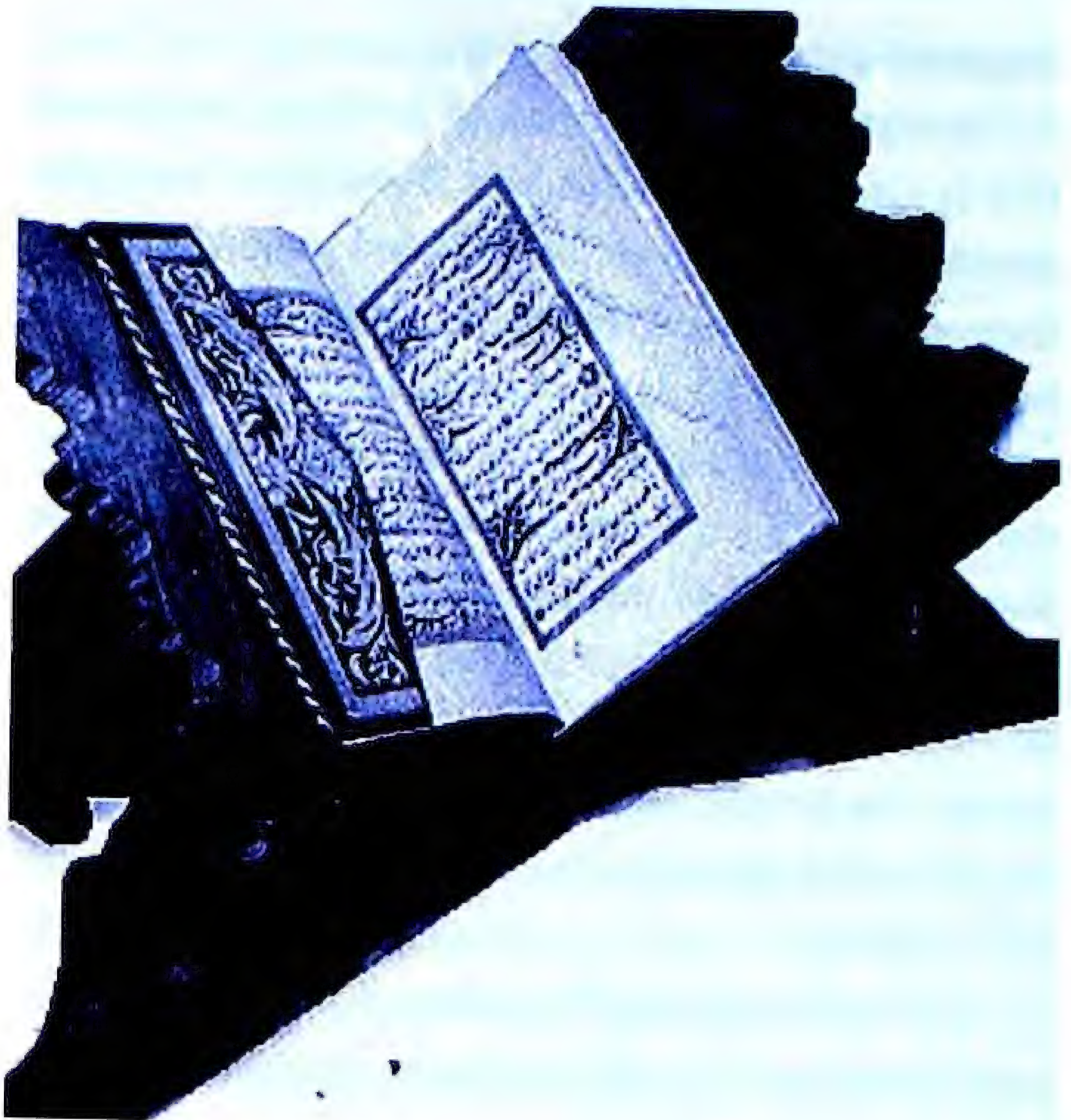
Moreover, Abu Tahir Samarqandi (alive during the 19th century) asserts that Khwaja Saqqa, who was buried in the surrounding areas of Samarqand, was a caliph of Naqshband. The author of *Amasya Tarihi*, Abdizade Husayn Husamuddin (d. 1939) recorded in his book that the first sheikh of the "Mahmud Çelebi Tekkesi" in Amasya, founded in 807 (1404-5), Khwaja Ruknuddin Mahmud Bukhari, was one of Bahauddin Naqshband's caliphs. However, there is not enough information about Khwaja Saqqa, or about Khwaja Ruknuddin Mahmud Bukhari. Some of the other leading disciples who are recorded in the sources of Bahauddin Naqshband are as follows: Maulana Muhammad Faghanzi, Khwaja Musafir Khwarizmi, Sayfuddin Manari, Sayfuddin Khushkhan Bukhari, Sirajuddin Kulal Pirmasi, Khusraw Karmini, Abdullah Khujandi, Sheikh Shadi Gadivati, Derviş Nikruz, Amir Mahmud Qasr-i Mughani and Amir Husayn.

According to reports, Sa'duddin Taftazani (d. 792/1389) participated in the *subhats* of Naqshband.

Naqshband offered to take him on as a disciple, but he did not accept. The reports that the famous Persian poet Hafiz Shirazi (d. 791/1389) was a disciple should be treated with caution, as these are not supported by respected sources.

In a story that is widespread in Siberia, it is stated that in 797 (1395) Bahauddin Naqshband sent 366 sheikhs (some disciples and caliphs) to spread Islam from Bukhara to the region of Irtish. However, as Naqshband had died 6 years before this date, in 791 (1389), it is not possible that he sent these people himself. Moreover, it is known that during the time of the Shaybanis that Küchüm Han had requested scholars and sheikhs from Abdullah Han in Bukhara to teach about the religion. This story, which is widespread among the people, could possibly have been mis-recorded as belonging to the 14^{th} century instead of the 16^{th} century.

One of the caliphs of Naqshband, Khwaja Muhammad Parsa, even though he played an important part in the spreading of the lineage, made the greatest cultural contributions to the history of Sufism and, in particular, to Naqshbandism through his written works. The people who played a great role in the spread of the lineage were Alauddin Attar and Yaqub Charkhi. After the death of Alauddin Attar, Charkhi began to guide, giving the caliphhood to Ubaydullah Ahrar; it was dur-

ing the time of Khwaja Ahrar that the lineage became the most influential in the area of Mawaraunnahr. With time this lineage found the possibility to spread

from Indonesia to the Balkans, from the Yemen to the Caucuses. In the final years of the Ottoman Empire it had spread throughout a wide area in Anatolia. Husayn Vassaf (d. 1929) recorded that the number of Naqshbandis in Turkey was greater than the total members of all the other lineages (*Safina-yi Avliya*, II, 164).

B. Important Works Written about Naqshband

1- *Risala-yi Qudsiyya*: This is a work written by Muhammad Parsa in Persian. Printed in Tehran and in Rawalpindi, 1975.

2- *Anisu't-talibin wa uddetu's-salikin*: Written by Salah b. Mubarak Bukhari, a disciple of Naqshband, in Persian. Printed in Tehran, 1992.

3- *Al-Risalatu'l-Bahaiyya*: Written by Abu'l-Qasim Bukhari in Persian. This work is still in manuscript form.

4- *Maqamat-i Hadrat-i Khwaja Naqshband*: Written by Abu'l-Muhsin Muhammad Baqir b. Muhammad Ali in Persian. Printed in Bukhara, 1910.

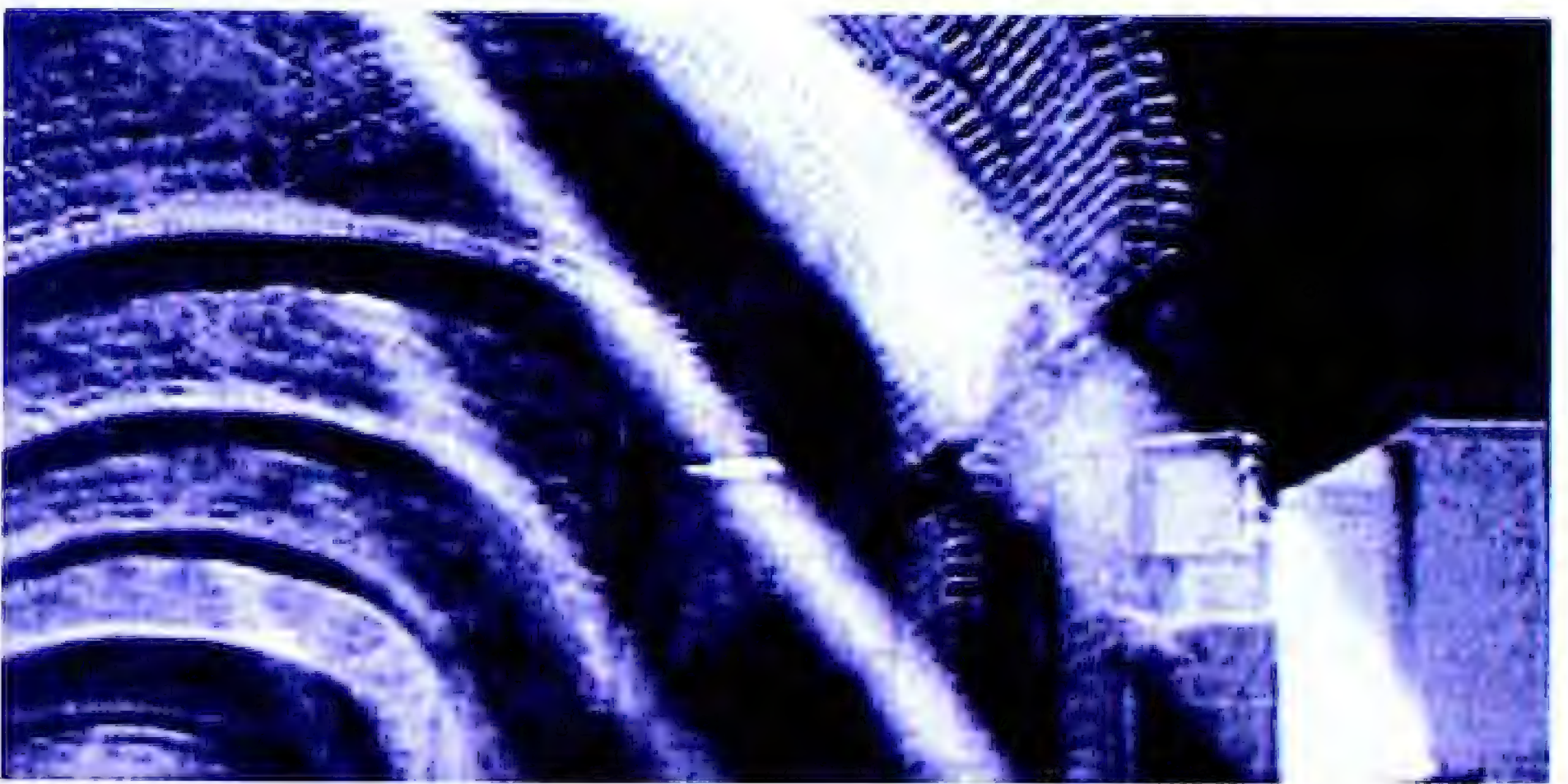
C. Other Influences

One night Khwaja Bahauddin had a dream in which he saw the Khwajagan sheikhs; one of the *sheikhs* there said to him, "The troubles that will descend will be avoided by your blessings. This is a gift from *Baba Sammasi* to you." Because of this legend he was known as Khwaja Balagardan (The Sheikh who evades troubles). This nickname did not become very well known and it was mainly used around Bukhara. It is said that the people of Afghanistan have a tradition to protect from the evil eye in which they burn the wild herb which represents grace while saying the name of Bahauddin Naqshband.

There is a ceremony in Bukhara that has been going on for hundreds of years carried out in the memory of Bahauddin Naqshband, known as the *Id-i gul-i surkh* (the red rose festival).

Today, lineage that is connected with Bahauddin Naqshband can be found in many parts of the world. Particularly influential in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, East Turkestan, Uzbekistan Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. This lineage has begun to spread to Europe and America in recent years.

Physical Appearance

Khwaja Bahauddin's physical appearance and face are not recorded in authentic sources. However, some later sources have reported as follows: he was of medium height (some say tall), stocky, with a grayish beard, a round face, skin the color of wheat, pink cheeks, well-spaced eyebrows, a short mustache and chestnut brown eyes.

CONCLUSION

Bahauddin Naqshband continued the efforts of his spiritual guide, Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani. His tradition was to remain faithful to the Shariah and to unify the Sunni tradition with Sufi *futuwwah* and *malamah*. The disciples after him continued to follow this tradition, and, as the people, scholars and state administrators saw this as being reasonable, the group took on the identity of a lineage.

On the other hand, some sheikhs of other lineages, claiming to be Mahdi or caliphs of Muslims, put forward ideas that went against the religion and began to upset the people and the administrators. Batini beliefs were adopted and perverted in an attempt to create a new religion. Fazlullah Hurufi (d. 796/1394), who is considered to be the founder of Hurufism, upon inviting Timur to which he called *ayin-i jadid* (new ways of worship) was arrested and tried, and, because these views were found to contravene the religion, he was hanged. The founder of the Nurbakhshiyya, Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 869/1465), claimed to be the Mahdi and the caliph to the *ummah*. He had

money minted in his own name and had the *khutba* (speech read after the Friday prayer) read in his name. In response to this, Sultan Shahruh of the Timur dynasty ordered his arrest more than once and had him exiled. Thus, during this time of confusion those lineages that remained faithful to the rules of religion and did not upset the scholars and administrators found acceptance and praise. The foremost of these was the Naqshbandis.

The Khwajagan lineage that was established in the 6th century after the Hijra (12th century) by Abdulkhaliq Ghujduvani continued and became the Naqshbandi lineage, having taken its name from Bahauddin Naqshband. It protected the concepts in the Qur'an and Sunni Islam, and in this way was protected against the perversions of the Ghulat-i Shia, Batını and Hurufi movements to a large extent. It was with this identity that the lineage was given support throughout history from the scholars and the Sunni state leaders; moreover, those administrators who wanted to defend their country against heterodox groups were given support by the Naqshbandis. While some lineages were affected over time by different currents, the reason why the Naqshbandis were able to continue without losing sight of the rules of religion must be looked for in the firm principles that the founder, Bahauddin Naqshband, put forward. Perhaps the most important thing

that Naqshband did was to refute the view that separated the spiritual and external sciences from each other, that is the dervish lodge and the religious school, a view that saw these institutions as competitors. On the contrary, he showed religious scholars great respect.

Moreover, Bahauddin Naqshband constructed the lineage on the basis of *malamah;* however, he did not interpret it in a heterodox way, as the Qalandaris and Khaydaris did. On the contrary, he described it in a Shar'i and Sunni environment and became the representative of the genuine Malami tradition.

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This is an important work for those who are interested in Sufi history, particulary the Naqshbandiyya order.

This work is just for those who are curious about the life and thoughts of Bahâuddin Naqshband.

This book is like a modest boat that will take you to the source of the Naqshbandi river -a river that has now spread all over the world. Have a nice trip.

$7 US